REPORT RESUMES

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST (JANUARY 25-26, 1965).

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THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE WAS TO BRING TOGETHER AGENCIES, ORGANIZATIONS, AND GROUPS CONCERNED WITH POVERTY IN SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES. REPRESENTATIVES OF 53 ORGANIZATIONS MET IN TUCSON TO LEARN OF POVERTY FROM THE POOR. DISADVANTAGED PEOPLE OF ANGLO, INDIAN, NEGRO, AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN BACKGROUNDS WERE HEARD IN A FORMAT SIMILAR TO THAT EMPLOYED IN CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS. PARTICIPANTS INDICATED THE CONFERENCE GAVE THEM A GREATER AWARENESS OF THE NATURE OF POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST AND A KEENER UNDERSTANDING OF THE POWER ELITE ATTITUDES TOWARD THAT POVERTY. SUGGESTIONS FOR ATTACKING POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST INCLUDED--(1) RE-EXAMINATION OF THE OPENNESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BORDER, (2) INCLUSION OF FARM WORKERS UNDER STATE LABOR LAWS, (3) INTERSTATE STUDY OF SCHOOLS WHICH SERVE PEOPLE WHO SPEAK ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE, (4) MORE INVOLVEMENT OF THE POOR IN PLANNING PROGRAMS INTENDED TO BENEFIT THE LESS FORTUNATE, AND (5) A KEENER NATIONAL RESPECT FOR THE CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THE SOUTHWEST. (SF)

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ALFRED M. POTTS, 2d

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST

January 25 & 26, 1965

Tucson, Arizona

Summary Report

THE CENTER FOR CULTURAL STUDIES
Adams State College of Colorado
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National Conference On Poverty In The Southwest

January 25 & 26, 1965

Summary Report

Robert B. Choate and Lorraine W. Frank

THE CHOATE FOUNDATION
Box 784, Phoenix, Arizona

ALFRED M. POTTS, 2d

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THE CONFERENCE WAS SPONSORED BY THE FOLLOWING PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

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American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
    Northern California Regional Office
    Pacific Southwest Regional Office
    South Central Regional Office
    North Central Regional Office
American G.I. Forum
American Humane Association — Children's Division
American Jewish Congress
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Father James Vizzard, SJ, National Council on Agricultural Life & Labor

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INTRODUCTION

Special to *The New York Times:* Tucson, Arizona, January 26, 1965

> "Tourists and magazine readers know the Southwest as a land of bright sunshine, breath-taking scenery and a wealth of natural resources feeding an endless boom in everything from oil to agriculture and real estate.
>
> "For the last two days here, however, regional spokesmen in many fields have been examining the Southwest's hidden face: the face of poverty.
>
> "The five states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California have some 30 million inhabitants. These include two-thirds of the nation's six million Spanish-speaking people, about 2.5 million Negroes, and nearly 200,000 Indians."

Special to *The National Observer:* Tucson, Arizona, January 27, 1965

> "... there were the poor themselves ... the reason for including the poor was clear. The new Federal anti-poverty program is based on the proposition that the poor should have a say in determining how to fight poverty. The conference's sponsors — 53 private welfare and social service organizations—hoped that by bringing the poor and the experts together there would emerge a more realistic picture of the dimensions of poverty, and, possibly, some insights into ways of eliminating it.
>
> "The dimensions of the problem were indeed exposed. But the obstacles to eliminating poverty appeared, at the conference's end, more staggering than they had at the beginning."

Editorial, *Scottsdale Progress,* Scottsdale, Arizona, January 29, 1965

> "The National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest held in Tucson this week was a major achievement for those who are concerned with equal economic opportunity for all Americans.
>
> "While the Vice-President and other prominent speakers dominated the headlines, it was significant that the Poverty Conference also heard people who work daily with the lowest income groups. In addition, members of these groups themselves actually had the opportunity of describing their plight. And this is unusual at such meetings . . .
>
> "The Poverty Conference will not answer all the questions. It will not cure all the ills. But it is a brave start locally, and it promises action for the future."

Chapter I

A Myopic Gopher's View of Adobeland

The plains of Texas, the wastes of New Mexico, the desert valleys of Arizona — all have an aura of space, isolation, quiet and inhospitality. The land appears unwelcoming; but the people ignore the warning and come in droves. Air-conditioning has softened the impact of the searing breezes. Urban crowding has driven escapists from northern cities to brave the baking sun. Into this area today are moving the midwestern farmer, the east coast city dweller, the young family man. Many of the residents have migrated to the area simply because of the desire to leave another. Relatives, arthritis, respiratory diseases, snow, reputation, mothers-in-law — all are given as reasons for arriving in the Southwest as much as to "seek a job," to "live in open air," to "see the land of the cowboys." Today, 30 million live in these five states. More are arriving every day.

Geographically, the area is immense. One thousand miles separate Dallas from the Colorado River. Four hundred miles separate Colorado's southern border from the Mexican border. At lower altitudes the climate is semi-tropical the year around; tourist and resort areas crop up where the sun shines the longest, and frost is unknown. Winter in the Rockies is long and snowy.

This vast space, while not monolithic, is surprisingly uniform in its political ideologies, its social concerns (or non-concerns), its pockets of wealth and poverty, its interpretation of world affairs, its religious and ethnic composition. Politically, the area is vocal in its conservatism. Senators Goldwater and Tower, former Governors Mechem and (now Senator) Fannin, former Representative Alger and Representative Utt are names identified with recent Republican conservatism. Perhaps even stronger is the Southern Democrat orientation. Many of the political figures have long been on the scene and are seldom progressive. Federal aid is generally looked upon as federal intervention — unless it is governmental support of prices and commodities and accompanied by very few controls. Washington personnel is distrusted, as are Washington ideas.

Newspapers of the Southwest often reflect the views of their ultra-conservative publishers in news stories as well as editorial policies. Subjects distasteful to the management may lose priority in coverage, and there is a disinclination to report factually on certain matters as they occur. Electronic news media carry national network programs, but seldom involve themselves with local social issues lest they lose advertisers or customers.

Economically, the area is one of great contrasts. Petroleum wealth is well known. Cattle and copper barons have been described for years. Federally-supported cotton holdings are behind every major gin. Grain elevators document grain fortunes. The vast in-migration has created many real estate millionaires in recent years. Endless lettuce and melon fields represent mammoth investments.

At the same time, in these same states, in these same counties, communities exist whose median family income is less than $1,500. In Texas, 28.7% of the families live on a median family income of less than $3,000, with 18% on less than $2,000. Of the population in New Mexico, 24.3% of family incomes are below $3,000, and 15.1% under $2,000. In Arizona, the story is the same; 21.3% of the families exist on less than $3,000 per year, 12.9% on less than $2,000. Of the families in California, 14.1% live on incomes of less than $3,000 per year, with 8% receiving less than $2,000. Colorado has 18.3% of its families subsisting on incomes under $3,000 per year, with 9.6% having less than $2,000.*

Education for the indigent is haphazard in these areas. Educational attainment among the poor is low. Birth rates are high, but so are infantile deaths and the incidence of tuberculosis. Vocational training is often nonexistent. Day-care centers are practically unheard of. Recreation is marginal. Incentive is lacking. Crime is high. Philanthropy is narrow and unimaginative. Social concern is at a low ebb.

Ethnically, the area has a unique composition. Once settled by Indian tribes who migrated farther and farther south prior to the arrival of gold-seeking Spanish battalions, the area is now populated principally by those of Mexican heritage, Negroes who have migrated west, Indians who have retreated to and from reservations, and "Anglos" — those from a European background. Of the 30,000,000 population in the five-state area, 3.5 million persons have Spanish surnames. There are more than 2.2 million Negroes. 189,000 Indians inhabit the area — both on and off the reservations. An estimated 8.1 million persons live at the poverty level.

The area shows the influence of having been under many flags during its history. Texas boasts of having been under six flags, including its own. New Mexico has been under four, as have parts of Arizona. The Alamo, long remembered in American history, is the site of one of Mexico's famous victories. Once in history, the Rio Grande was a turnpike for Spanish invaders. Indian domination of the area is easily pictured when one regards the vast areas which today are Indian reservations.

Today, the Mexican border is wide open. Some authorities estimate the migration to exceed 3,000 Mexicans a month. Braceros are a passe labor source (perhaps only temporarily), but the number of "commuters" who live in Mexico and travel as far as 150 miles into the United States to perform their daily chores is mounting steadily. The low wages that accompany this back-and-forth migration are felt throughout the entire Southwest. The stimulation by this international trade is more obvious on the Mexican side of the border than on the United States side. Disease, crime, drugs and prostitution are no strangers to the border towns of Mexico.

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*U. S. Statistical Abstract 1960

Religiously, the area is a hodge-podge of Protestant sects and divisions, with areas of Catholic strength. The Jewish community is never strong in rural areas, and has only occasional strong representation, and that in a few cities. Southern Baptists and the Church of Christ are powerful in Texas. Catholic numbers are hard to interpret, for, while the Mexican-American is almost invariably Catholic in name, actual church attendance may be insignificant. Attendance by males in this group is notoriously low. Numerous fundamentalist sects, some complete with tents, find open welcome in the Southwest. Their followers interpret the world in "blacks and whites, with seldom a shade of gray." It is not coincidental that Arizona last year faced a threat against evolution-teaching on the November ballot. Methodists and Episcopalians share prestige in many areas. In Arizona, as in Utah, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) constitute a sizeable fraction of the population. In the entire area, church attendance is a measure of "respectability." Social conscience has been manifested in recent years by Methodist and Lutheran ministers; Catholic interest seems now to be rising. Isolated Presbyterian clergymen, Unitarians and Congregationalists have generally shown concern for their fellow men, but their sphere of influence is limited.

The absence of long-time wealth in the area is obvious in the social immaturity of the newer communities. Lack of social identification and tradition has led to a "scrambling, clawing society." Philanthropy, sparse at best, is confined to such "safe" fields as art, music, medicine and University chairs. Social progressivism is a virtual stranger. Universities reflect the provincial views of their trustees and principal donors (frequently the same) in their attitudes toward social mobility. Social statistics are uncommon. Censorship of student studies is not unknown. New views, new ideas, while entertained, are suspect by virtue of their newness in the community.

The comparison of living standards between the wealthy areas of the Southwest and the areas of great poverty is startling. Indian poverty is well-documented; evidently the Bureau of Indian Affairs can seldom find an answer to persistent problems of integration and motivation. The living conditions of Negroes in the Southwest are comparable to those in the Southeast, but less publicity has been focused on them. The living conditions of the Mexican-American comprise perhaps America's best-kept secret. The Rio Grande Valley of Texas, the "slumburbs" of San Antonio, West Dallas and South Dallas, South El Paso, South Albuquerque, South Tucson and South Phoenix have much in common. These areas of mild climate may well include North America's worst shack towns.

Social mobility, historically, has been accelerated by education. Newer skills demanded by newer industries have opened doors to hitherto disadvantaged citizens who have used progress-designed education as passports to social acceptance. But education in the Southwest is not, by tradition, imaginatively approached. Creative programs such as "Higher Horizons" of New York City and the Great Cities Projects of the Ford Foundation may be wholly unknown to the administrators of numerous Southwestern school systems. The conservative nature of the "power structure" of the large population centers in the Southwest and the lack of background and sophistication of most of those sitting on school boards do not invite experiments, innovations or compensatory techniques for lower economic pupils. Even such conservative local child motivation programs as Phoenix's Careers for Youth and Austin's University Junior High School Project have faced hostile audiences when it was proposed that they be expanded beyond a demonstration level.

The educational pattern of slum schools, whether urban or rural in the Southwest, may well prevent, rather than provide, social escalation. Spanish-surnamed children repeating the primary grades, Negroes barred from vocational-technical schools, Indians retreating after viewing public school education — all are symptoms of regional problems. These "problems" expressed in statistics would show that more than one-third (35%) of Arizona's Spanish-surnamed adults 25 years and older have not completed five years of schooling. 51% of the Spanish-surnamed population of Texas would fall into this classification, 24% in California, 24% in Colorado and 30% in New Mexico. Of Arizona's non-white population, 37% have fewer than five years of schooling. This figure is 39% in New Mexico, 24% in Texas, 12% in California and 8% in Colorado.

Islands of social discontent persist unnoticed and unattacked in the midst of "Anglo" dominated communities. So isolated are individuals in these islands that often even an understanding of local conditions is nonexistent. The leadership demonstrated in various ethnic groups of the Southwest is inclined to be hostile to "Anglo" community leaders, to be withdrawn, and to be suspicious. Moreover, the greater welcome given to stable and sophisticated members of ethnic or racial minority groups in some other areas in the country — including the federal government — has resulted in an exodus from the area of potential leaders.

Countless other problems exist to depress the lives of these minority groups — problems which are not capable of statistical tabulation. On the reservation, the Indian finds himself in a dilemma as to how independent he can become and how much he needs or wishes to receive the protection of the Agency. Those who have left the reservation, at the urging of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, often find life's challenges so difficult that the only way out is to return. Some few have become integrated into the larger society.

The Spanish-surnamed of the Southwest continue to quibble among themselves as to what they want to be called. In Texas they are "Latin-Americans" to the "Anglos" but "Mexicanos" to each other — a term which connotes more than its literal translation. In California, they are publicly "Mexican-Americans"; again, to each other, they are "Mexicanos." The northern New Mexicans are either "Spanish-American" or "Hispanic"; in Colorado they are addressed as "Spanish-American" or "Latin-American." In Arizona, the secure are "Mexican-American" while the insecure ponder the possibly greater prestige of a "Spanish" label. The Indian heritage of many who trace their roots through Mexico should not be overlooked in this regard.

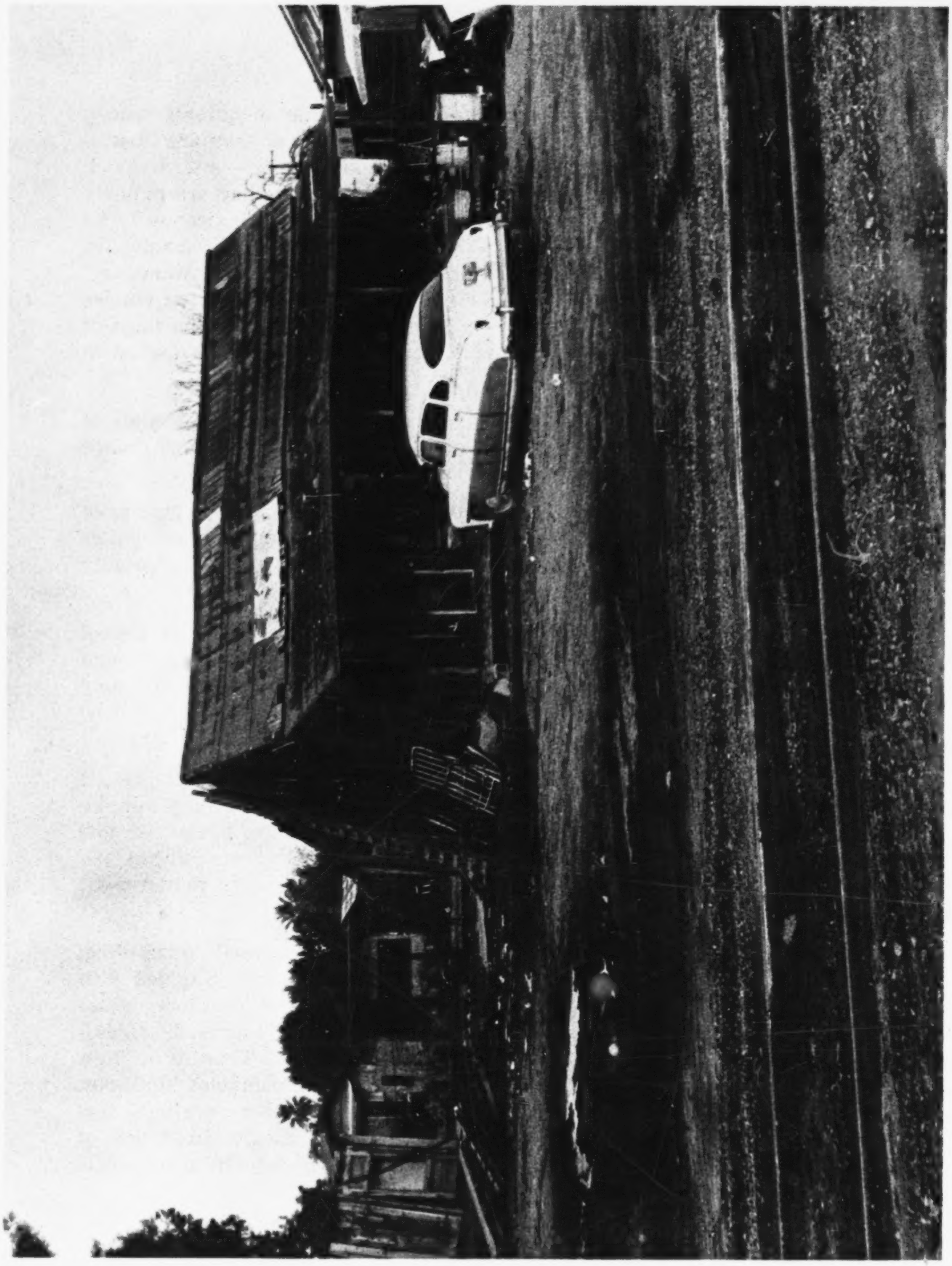
There is little communication in the Southwest between the leaders of the various racial and ethnic groups. Indian and Spanish-surnamed groups are notoriously reserved in their relations with other groups.

There is little communication in the Southwest between the leaders of a group in one city or state and the leaders of that same group in another (possibly adjoining) city or state. Yet the problems faced are usually similar, and the solutions may be as well.

There is little communication in the Southwest between the almost feudalistic "power structure" and the ethnic group leaders — even though a willingness to "talk things out" is often expressed by both. Leaders among ethnic or racial minorities are seldom cultivated by the powers-that-be unless their efforts would be of value to long-existing goals of the "Anglos."

There is little communication in the Southwest between the ever-present "Anglo" volunteer, who can afford to give his services without pay, and the impoverished of the area. On the other hand, the degree of poverty in this area precludes very many potential leaders or volunteers within the impoverished groups from assuming voluntary assignments to represent their attitudes to the power structure.

This, then, is a picture of the inland Southwest. Proud, scrambling, feudal, jealous. Land of great fortunes and greater poverty. Studded with shining new art museums and symphony orchestras, it remains in one sense the frontier land familiar to movie-goers, where the newly-arrived "Anglo," having left his reputation behind, can "start over again." There is no limit to how high he can climb the social ladder, as long as his money holds out. But to the millions who were historically here first, there are very few chances to start over again, to move socially or economically. In an area of dynamic growth, they are left farther and farther behind in a hostile environment.



Chapter II

The Conference Plan is Born and Develops

In 1964, "Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty," a non-profit organization dedicated to attacking poverty in the widespread distressed areas of the United States, was formed under the leadership of James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, and Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers. Father James Vizzard, SJ, of the National Catholic Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, was a frequent participant in the preliminary discussions and in the formulation of policy for the organization.

Recognizing that social problems in Harlem, Chicago and Appalachia were receiving considerable attention from the nation's press, the leaders of this organization were agreed upon the desirability of focusing attention on other areas of the United States where poverty is a persistent, if less dramatic, problem. In September, 1964, Mr. Patton made the move to initiate a conference somewhere in the Southwest which would point out the problems of Indians and Mexican-Americans as they relate to agriculture. He presented the idea to the White House and received a favorable response there.

At the same time, The Choate Foundation, a private organization in Phoenix, Arizona, was operating intergroup leadership workshops in several areas of the Southwest under a contract with the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. In April, 1964, one hundred persons from Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California assembled in Phoenix to discuss similarities in the problems facing various ethnic groups. Within the next few months, two similar meetings were held, one in El Paso, Texas, to discuss the common problems affecting juvenile delinquency in that area, and the other in Denver for eastern Coloradans of different ethnic origins.

Staff members of The Choate Foundation, through the efforts of Bernard Valdez, Director of the Denver Welfare Department, met in Tucson in early November with Dr. John Eklund of the Farmers Union, assistant to Mr. Patton, to review the possibility of conducting jointly a national conference on poverty in the Southwest on the campus of the University of Arizona, if the University's approval were secured. It was agreed at that time that as many Southwestern leaders as possible should be involved in the planning, so that it would be a truly representative meeting, considering viewpoints and opinions of the groups closest to the problems.

To this end, a week later, Mrs. Grace Gil Olivarez of Phoenix, Robert Sanchez of McAllen, Texas, Robert Reveles of Washington, D.C., Herman Gallegos of San Francisco (all Mexican-Americans), Harrison Porter, Vice-Chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribe and assistant to the chairman of the Arizona Inter-Tribal Council, Mrs. Helen Peterson of Denver and Robert Choate of The Choate Foundation met in Washington with Dr. Eklund, Father Vizzard, Ben Neufeld, Miss Vi Gunther and Henry Santiestevan. Henry Talbert, Western Regional Director of the National Urban League, was unable to attend the meeting, and Desmond Seely of the Washington office of that organization attended in his stead.

By the end of a day's discussion, proposals had been adjusted, altered and improved upon to such an extent that the group felt secure in calling a National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest in Tucson in late January of 1965.

On the following day, Mr. Choate and Father Vizzard met with Jack Conway of the Office of Economic Opportunity to discuss the possibility of partial financing of the conference by that agency. They were assured that it was feasible, particularly if the impoverished were to attend the conference and play a major role in it.

Meanwhile, Mr. Patton, Mr. Reuther and Father Vizzard had received letters from the White House announcing the President's cooperation in the venture; copies of the letter were sent to numerous prospective sponsoring organizations. At this point, the most immediate stumbling-block was the unwillingness of the University of Arizona to be host to the conference, even though they were "interested in the subject matter." However, Father Vizzard and Mr. Choate concluded to go forward with plans in some other Tucson location. Assignments for preparation were allocated on the following basis: the Washington office of the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor was given the primary responsibility for extending invitations to federal executives, governmental departments and agencies, headquarters of national private organizations, and selected VIPs. The Choate Foundation, operating out of conference headquarters in Phoenix, was to take care of all mechanical planning and make contact with the regional and local representatives of public and private organizations after the initial invitations had been issued from Washington. In addition, acting through a regional steering committee, the Phoenix group was to locate and invite representatives of the impoverished.

By late November, the following decisions had been made:

1. The conference would take place on January 25 and 26, 1965 in a Tucson hotel.

2. Spokesmen at the conference would be heard according to a pattern similar to that employed in Congressional hearings.

3. Concurrent hearings of much of the material to be presented would be necessary because of the large number of interested groups.

4. The Office of Economic Opportunity agreed to make available $39,000 for preparation for the conference, of which $22,500 was specifically

earmarked to finance attendance at the conference by representatives of the impoverished of the Southwest. The balance of the necessary funds was to come from private sources. All money spent beginning Sunday evening, January 24, was to be from private funds so that the conference itself was, in effect, to be a privately supported effort and therefore not subject to the usual restrictions attendant upon public financing. Similarly, publications emanating from the conference were to be privately financed so that reports could be made with complete freedom and candor.

No estimate was made of the size of the private contribution, but it was expected that $15,000 - 20,000 could be raised among the 40 or 50 national private sponsors, if necessary.

5. Thirty-five citizens of the five Southwestern states were designated to serve as a steering committee. Their function was to offer guidance on overall policy and to assist in finding witnesses for the three sets of hearings. The hearings were to be concerned respectively with (a) impoverished individuals, (b) efforts of private organizations to relieve poverty, and (c) programs of public agencies. In addition, it was expected that the steering committee would make available to the public at large information about the conference and its purposes, and make reports after the conference to local groups, in an effort to encourage greater attention to the impoverished of the Southwest.

The members of the steering committee were recruited by The Choate Foundation with the cooperation of a key leader in each of the five states—Mr. Valdez in Colorado, Mr. Gallegos in California, Mr. Sanchez in Texas, Gene Hill in New Mexico, and Mrs. Olivarez in Arizona. In addition, names were suggested by Father Vizzard, Dr. Robert Roessel and Mr. Henry Talbert, among others.

On Father Vizzard's recommendation, the members of the steering committee met in late December to discuss the problems that had arisen to that point.

Due to the shortness of time between the formulation of plans and the conference itself, it had been decided, as was stated, to have the federal and national invitations go out from the Washington office and to have invitations to regional and local organizations issue from the Phoenix office. There was post-conference criticism by some who never received an invitation. In a majority of instances, it was later found that communication from the top in many large organizations was so unsatisfactory that regional and local offices had never received information that had been sent to their national office sixty days earlier.

Public releases during the period leading up to the conference stated repeatedly that the conference was open to interested persons by invitation only. Social work groups in general, particularly those with large numbers of professionals in their ranks, reacted adversely to this, believing that they were being excluded from attending. Many individuals and groups in the Southwest requested invitations, which were honored except in a few instances where an unwarranted subsidization was also requested. Those who were most vocal in their indignation at failing to receive an invitation, in many instances, had never taken the trouble to write or telephone seeking an invitation.

Panelists whose role was to be similar to that of Congressmen at Congressional hearings were sought by The Choate Foundation, with suggestions coming from Father Vizzard and a number of steering committee members. The list, numbering about forty, included representatives of all ethnic groups. Of these, twelve accepted the invitation to participate in the conference. They were informed that they would be briefed in advance on the nature of the testimony to be heard, but their questions were to derive from the actual remarks made before them. The majority of the panelists came from outside the Southwest, since what was sought was an objective perspective on the problems of the region. The persons serving in that capacity were:

Mr. Steve Allen — TV and motion picture star, lyricist, composer, public speaker, comedian, pianist and author of 8 books

Mr. David Danzig — writer and lecturer; Associate Director, American Jewish Committee

Dr. Leonard Duhl — psychiatrist; chief of Office of Planning, National Institute of Mental Health, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Laurence M. Gould — Chairman of the Board, American Association for the Advancement of Science; President Emeritus, Carleton College; Professor of Geology, University of Arizona

Mr. Michael Harrington — author of *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962); editor, with Paul Jacobs, of *Labor in a Free Society* (1959)

Mr. Burke Marshall — attorney, Washington, D.C.; special adviser to the Vice-President on civil rights; until recently Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, Civil Rights Division

Mr. D'Arcy McNickle — Executive Director, American Indian Development, Inc.; Guggenheim Fellow, author of report on community development project conducted in Navajo community; former staff member, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Dr. Paul F. O'Rourke — physician; special assistant for Anti-Poverty Planning, Office of the Governor, Sacramento, California; State of California Public Health Officer for Migratory Workers

Mr. Henry Saltzman — Program Associate, Public Affairs Program, The Ford Foundation; former teacher and counsellor in New York City schools as well as director of school for remedial studies

Dr. Julian Samora — Chairman, Sociology Department, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana; conducted study on Spanish-surnamed for Civil Rights Commission

Mr. Sam Yette — executive officer in the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.; former reporter for *Ebony, Life* and *Afro-Asia*

Mr. Yette substituted for Dr. Deborah Wolfe, Education Chief for the House Committee on Education and Labor, Washington, D.C., who was obliged to cancel at the last moment.

The featured speakers were selected primarily by the three chairmen, Mr. Patton, Mr. Reuther and Father Vizzard. White House support for the project had earlier been assured. Serious efforts were made to secure the participation of the President; by December, it was established that Vice-President Humphrey would speak for the Administration at the conference. The participation of Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, was assured by late December. Archbishop Robert Lucey of San Antonio was sufficiently persuaded of the importance of the meeting to cancel a previous commitment in order to attend and speak.

From an early stage in the planning, it became apparent that those persons who might be most interested in a conference on poverty in the Southwest would come primarily from within the Democratic Party. The Republican Party in the Southwest, it was considered, had not in recent years exhibited much interest in the problems of the lower economic groups. For that reason, the policy-makers considered it most important that there be at least one speaker who would improve the bi-partisan aspect of the conference, since two-party support of its objectives was certainly to be sought. The pursuit of a public figure with a record of interest in the impoverished included approaches to Senator Thomas Kuchel of California, Governor Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Governor George Romney of Michigan, Edward Brooke, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, and consideration of several Western Republican leaders. Finally, Jackie Robinson, Chairman of the Board of the Freedom National Bank of New York City, was persuaded to accept the assignment to speak on the subject of the need for two-party attention to the problems of poverty in the Southwest.

Chapter III

Mechanics and Obstacles – The Complications of the Period

It was apparent from the beginning that those who had a genuine interest in the problems of the poor understood the goals of the conference and found no difficulty in lining up witnesses for Hearing #1. By early January, Mrs. Helen Peterson had interviewed, counseled, sorted, organized, and taped the testimony of about 25 persons from Colorado. She asked for an "outside" evaluation, and Mrs. Olivarez went to Denver to meet with the potential witnesses. Oswaldo Venzor of the conference staff was sent to seek out and meet with potential witnesses in New Mexico, assisted by Mr. Gene Hill of that state. He also went into west Texas, where preliminary work was being done by interested individuals whom the Choate group had met the previous summer at the Adult Leadership Training Conferences. Mrs. Olivarez traveled through central, south and east Texas, meeting with, and taping the testimony of, witnesses from Longview, Dallas, Houston, McAllen and Brownsville.

Since, up to this point, California had not submitted any list of potential witnesses, no trips were scheduled for that state. Forty-one percent of the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest live in California. This 41% are more urbanized and perhaps more demanding of representation at all levels of planning than the other 59%. Yet, while the assistance of many individuals in the Los Angeles area was solicited for the conference, the greatest measure of Mexican-American cooperation came from outside that area.

In inviting impoverished citizens to the conference, it was discovered that the complications attached to the "organization man" exist even on that level of society. Despite the repeated insistence that it was to be the poor who were to speak for themselves, those ethnic, political and social organizations which deal with the problems of the impoverished and the minorities seemed to consider that they, and they alone, were capable of speaking for those persons. The purpose of Hearing #1 was not to provide a political forum for groups which suffered from an inability to be heard. Yet, in response to efforts to secure witnesses for this hearing, almost every one of the Mexican-American organizations offered spokesmen from within their ranks, rather than from the public at large. When these organizations were not permitted to speak for the little man, they became at that point somewhat hostile to the entire idea of the conference.

It was anticipated that 150 persons intimately associated with the problems of poverty in the Southwest would be subsidized to attend. In fact, 171 such did attend — some of them by virtue of spreading their travel funds and hotel space over larger numbers. Perhaps one-fifth of these were reached by The Choate Foundation directly when it became apparent that the other nominees would be closely associated with some local, regional or national organization.

In obtaining witnesses for Hearing #2, it was again apparent that those groups with a history of working with the impoverished had little difficulty in interpreting the goals of the conference. Requests for invitations were coming in from local chapters of some national organizations as early as the beginning of December. In other instances, however, letters of invitation went unanswered. Invitations to private foundations in the Southwest produced many "form-letter" responses which suggested that the letter of invitations had probably not been read. Letters of invitation were sent to a number of national business organizations which were reportedly developing programs to assist the economic uplift of poverty groups and areas. Unfortunately, a Plans for Progress meeting in Washington was scheduled for the two days immediately following the Tucson conference, and a number of those who were interested and capable of making a contribution to the poverty conference were unable to attend. Some, however, did prepare papers or exhibits which were valuable.

An automatic restriction was placed on those private organizations which would be selected to testify in Hearing #2 by the requirement that they speak about specific activities that had taken place or were taking place to benefit the impoverished. Certain ethnic groups, for example, it was recognized, which had a long record of social service to their own members, might well outweigh in time and prominence other equally sophisticated organizations which were more politically or less organizationally directed. However, adherence to the rule prevailed, lest the hearings open the floodgates to speeches about wishful thinking and good intentions.

Public agencies responded to their invitations to participate in somewhat better fashion than private organizations. Government departments, invited through the Washington conference office, had notified their state and regional departments about the conference, procedure for submitting testimony, location, attendance details, etc. Many of those divisions involved in existing programs or projected programs for the economically deprived accepted. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Employment Service and the Civil Rights Commission were three of the public agencies submitting statements sufficiently in advance of the conference to be able to ask for reaction and criticism. Public agencies at the city, county and state levels, however, responded in smaller numbers and with less enthusiasm.

Union Problems

When the University of Arizona declined to welcome the conference on its campus, members of the conference staff explored the feasibility of using the Ramada Inn in Tucson, the city's largest convention facility. During a meeting with the management of the catering department, the question was asked, "Do you have any difficulties which might embarrass us, in view of union support of this conference?" They were told that there were no labor problems pending. One week after arrangement were made to hold the conference at the Ramada, a flood of telegrams descended upon desks in Washington, including that of President Johnson, protesting the choice of a location. Inquiries confirmed that an NLRB hearing was pending to consider charges by the Bartenders and Culinary Workers Union locals that the Ramada management had intimidated employees during a recent representation election which the union had lost.

At that point, a Mrs. Gussie Houlihan, an organizer from the international union headquarters in Cincinnati, arrived on the scene in Tucson, declaring that no large hotel in the state would be acceptable. She suggested that the conference be held in El Paso, Denver or San Francisco. The state AFL-CIO secretary declared himself to be hand-tied in acting as an intermediary in the situation and referred The Choate Foundation to other union levels. The international headquarters in Cincinnati appeared unwilling to withdraw their organizer. State and national union leaders were at a loss to understand why there was so much pressure to remove the conference from Arizona, and seemed anxious to have it remain there. Nevertheless, telephone calls and telegrams to a variety of top union officials in the United States produced little action. The business community of Tucson, obviously unsure of the effects that a poverty conference would have on its "image", did not rise to denounce Mrs. Houlihan and her efforts to move the conference out of Arizona.

Finally, The Choate Foundation took the position that, while the original complaint against the Ramada may have been justified, they would not be forced out of the state. The local Bartenders and Culinary Workers Union was notified that the conference would be held in Arizona. Conversations between John Evans, Arizona AFL-CIO secretary, and the President of the union involved produced the promise that Mrs. Houlihan would be withdrawn. The venerable Santa Rita Hotel, which maintains a union shop, was selected as the site of the conference headquarters.

Ethnic Competition

During the hasty preparation of the budget in Washington in November, it was recognized, as it was repeatedly on other occasions, that the various ethnic groups of the Southwest would react differently to a conference on poverty. The degree of isolation of one ethnic group from the others, and of members of an ethnic group in one state from those of the same group in another state, is difficult to imagine against the recent coalition of thought and action of minority people in the Southeastern part of the country. In the Southwest, the Negro seldom speaks with the Mexican-

American, and neither speaks often with the Indian. Distances between centers of population make communication by telephone or telegraph costly. Frequently, the degree of poverty is such that typewriters and regular channels of letter-writing are not available to the impoverished potential leaders.

There are also differences of opinion among the ethnic groups as to what constitutes responsible civic leadership. The Negro community is prone to work through social organizations, social action organizations and groups having a strong educational or legal focus. C.O.R.E., N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League are the most significant examples of these groups.

The Mexican-American community, however, is more inclined to direct its voice through political organizations and to seek political appointments. Over a decade ago, the Mexican-American of the Southwest was legally declared to be a Caucasian. Since that time he has seen little reason to affiliate with others who are considered non-white minority groups. The major Mexican-American organizations of the region — LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) and American G. I. Forum — do have a degree of educational or social programming. But also active in the Southwest are MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association) and PASSO (Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations), neither of which concentrates its efforts in social service. In addition, C.S.O. (Community Service Organization), Arizona Coordinating Council on Political Education, and Alianza do not have tight interstate communications which can provide outlets for information for the Mexican-American individual.

The Indians of the Southwest sometimes form state inter-tribal councils, but these are relatively new to the business of speaking out for their interests. There is little interstate communication. The Congress of American Indians is not strong in this area. The 1964 election produced splits among various Indian interests. And, important to remember, is the fact that the Indians of the Southwest are, or have been, separate nations, and should never be regarded as a homogeneous group.

Leadership in all the ethnic groups of the Southwest is a fragile thing. The Choate Foundation sought an Indian to coordinate the participation of that group, following the recommendations of a respected expert on Indians. One after another recanted on an agreement to assume the responsibility, often failing even to make the promised return phone call. Similarly, when The Choate Foundation recruited 15 Mexican-Americans, through Mrs. Grace Gil Olivarez, to coordinate the participation of that group, at least another 15 howled that they had not been consulted, and therefore the conference must be a sham and a fraud. The Negro participation, after an initial misunderstanding triggered by an uninformed Phoenix leader, proved remarkably well coordinated from the top echelon of national organizations down to the local branches.

Because differences in reaction and in the degrees of enthusiasm and cooperation were evident at an early stage of the planning, the budget provided different sums for the cooordination of the different groups. The impoverished Anglos were to be represented primarily by groups concerned with the interest of the migratory workers.

Exhibitors

Plans were made at an early date to secure a number of exhibits for the conference which would demonstrate what organizations had done for the benefit of the impoverished. Invitations were extended to 57 organizations including governmental agencies, businesses, private social agencies and organized ethnic groups. Of these, 31 did in fact present exhibits and literature at the conference.

In addition, there was assembled a cultural exhibit reflecting the work of many artists identified with the Southwest. Some of them were descendants of ancient indigenous cultures who continue to create along the same lines as their ancestors. Others were relative newcomers who have migrated from different areas, bringing other cultural ideas and attitudes. Most of the artists and craftsmen represented came from backgrounds of poverty; some of them are presently teaching in schools in the economically deprived areas of their communities.

News Coverage

By mid-December, it was becoming clear that reliance could not be placed on communications between national organizations and their local and regional personnel if attendance at the conference was to be satisfactory. Futhermore, the press of the Southwest was relatively uncooperative in publicizing plans for the conference. About a dozen press releases were sent out from the Phoenix office to 144 recipients over a period of 60 days. As nearly as can be determined, a total of fewer than 50 news stories appeared in print in all five states together.

As a result, with the help of a number of volunteers, a large number of invitations were sent out to many of the local and regional branches of national organizations which had received invitations through the Washington office a month earlier. The effort, necessarily hasty because of the late date, was aimed at an attendance of about 700 persons.

The handling of news media relations was apportioned between Henry Santiestevan of the I.U.D., AFL-CIO in Washington and a public relations person on the scene in Phoenix. National news releases originated in Washington; those aimed at regional audiences were written in Phoenix. Camera crews were hired by the Washington office to photograph and record interviews with the impoverished of the Southwest at the scene of their problems. These films were taken in early January and are a startling record of poverty as it exists in that part of the country. Brief shots taken from these films were presented on national television news programs during the period of the conference, and a full-length network documentary was scheduled for a later date.

Detailed planning for coverage of the conference was delayed until early January when arrangements were completed for the location of the conference. Major meetings were to be held in the auditorium of the Tucson Music Center, approximately 300 yards from the conference headquarters in the Santa Rita Hotel. An additional auditorium was reserved at the Masonic Temple, located between the hotel and the Music Center. Despite assurances to the contrary, the sound system of the Music Center proved totally inadequate to the needs of the conference, and had to be revamped. Charges for the use of the building were equally unpredictable, ranging from an initial "we will give you the building" to the final cost of over $200 a day.

Press headquarters were planned for the Santa Rita Hotel, but as late plans shifted the responsibility for news relations from the local personnel to the more experienced national advisors, the news center wes established at the Music Center. Plans for live TV coverage of parts of the conference were scrapped when the death of Winston Churchill took precedence over all other events on television for several days.

Testimony Deadlines and Resultant Problems

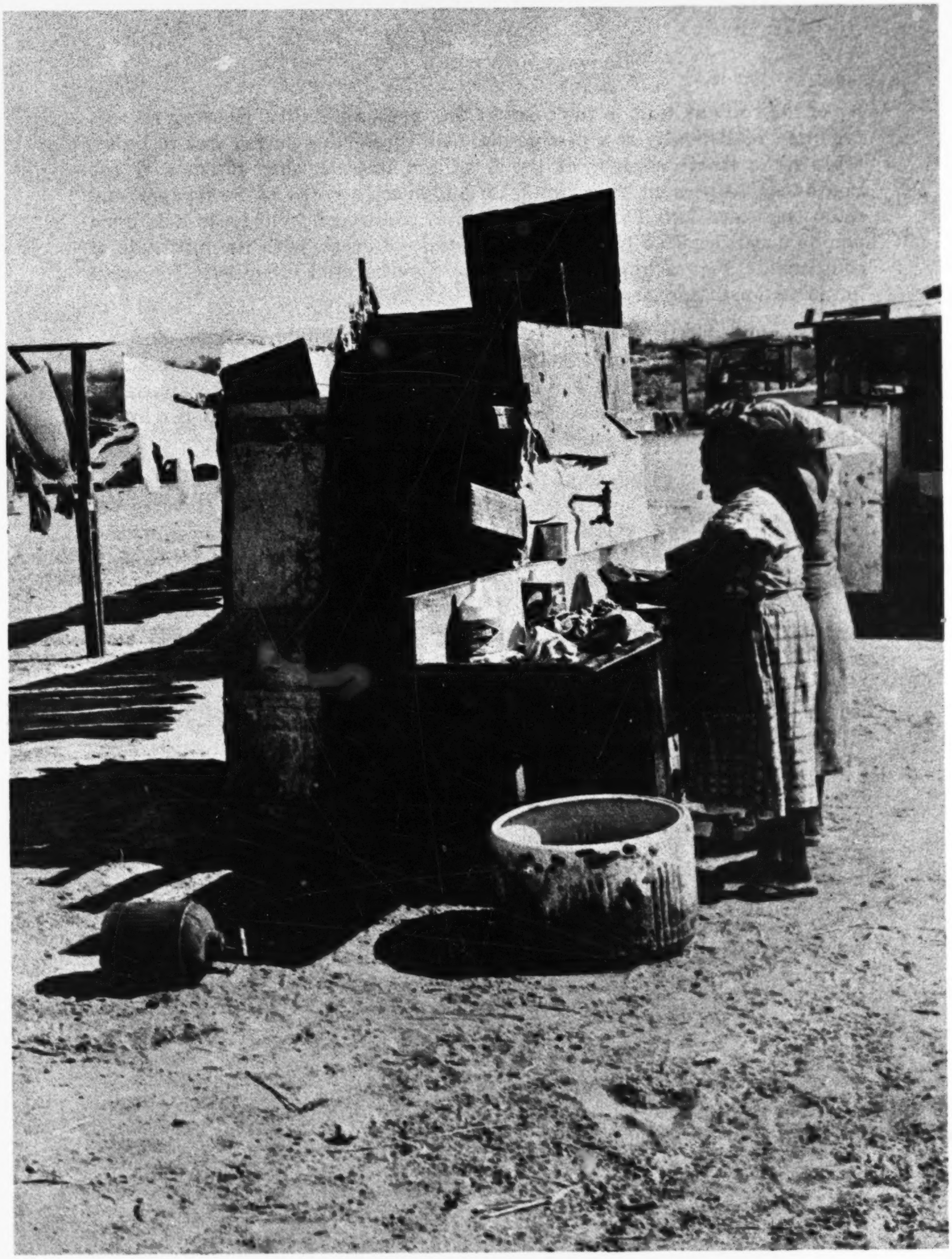
It was requested that all persons and organizations wishing to present testimony at the conference have a written statement or a tape in the hands of the staff by January 12. This was done for several reasons. It would prevent widespread duplication of subject matter. It would reduce the likelihood of political or otherwise irrelevant speeches. It would permit the selection of a broader range of topics which would properly portray the problems of poverty and the attempts at their solution. It would permit advance planning and timing for the agreed number of testifiers in each hearing. Finally, it would allow the panelists to be prepared for the nature of the testimony.

In the case of many of the impoverished persons involved, there was not always access to pen and paper or typewriter, or the ability to express thoughts on paper. As a result, tape recorders were taken on field trips for statements or interviews; they were also made available to representative personnel in several locations.

A review group in Phoenix, representing a variety of ethnic derivations, judged the testimony for Hearing #1 as to relevance of subject matter, specific nature of statements, brevity and conciseness of speech, dramatic quality of the content, and, in the cases of the tapes, audibility. Hearing #1 was regarded realistically as a production. One three-hour period was to be set aside for a small number of the 8 million impoverished citizens of the Southwest to present to a panel, an audience, a corps of newspaper and radio reporters, and TV cameras the total picture of poverty as it is lived among a multitude of people in a multitude of areas, with its multitude of components. It was imperative that the time be used effectively for maximum national impact.

Letters to potential testifiers from private or public agencies also requested that a written statement not exceeding 3,000 words be in the hands of the conference staff by January 12. The testifiers selected to appear in person were to be limited to five minutes apiece, to present highlights of the submitted testimony and answer questions.

By January 12, 25 pieces of testimony for Hearing #1 were in the hands of The Choate Foundation, 15 pieces for Hearing #2, and 12 for Hearing #3. Up to this point, the review group had been able to work under calm and deliberate conditions. Ten days later, however, when the conference staff had moved to Tucson, the number of bits of testimony received had approximately trebled over those received by the deadline. The continuous flood indicated that analysis of the preliminary presentations would have to be extended and other testimony considered right up to the actual time of the hearings. For this reason, and in order to protect the integrity of those selected, it was decided that there would be no advance release of the names of those who were to appear.



Chapter IV

The Conference Opens

In accordance with an expected attendance of about 700, a color coding system of badges was established which would permit persons to quickly recognize the area of activity represented by other registrants. The purpose was to permit easy discussion of mutual problems by persons unacquainted with each other. To this end, there was also a plan for a large roster board which would contain the names of all persons registered, by states.

Before the registration desk opened at noon on the day preceeding the conference, a waiting line stretched through the hotel lobby to the street. All plans for organized and efficient registration went out the window. Undoubtedly the opportunity to hear the Vice-President of the United States give his first major address since his inauguration brought people to the Conference who might have been less interested otherwise. Rumors had magnified the seriousness of the nose cold which had sent the President to the hospital that morning, and it is presumed that some thought they might be hearing the next President. Dozens of persons living or visiting in Tucson claimed to be the oldest and closest friends of the Vice-President, and demanded that they be allowed to register to hear him, despite the invitation-only policy. Many persons, with a bona fide interest in the conference, had mistakenly assumed that receiving an invitation was tantamount to accepting it. Those who lived in Tucson claimed a priority over "out-of-towners", while those who had traveled a distance felt, not unreasonably, that they should be allowed to attend.

A pre-registration file had been assembled, not as a complete or exclusive list, but simply to speed registration by printing badges in advance. In desperation, this file was seized upon for priority rights to admission to the Vice-President's speech, which was expected to attract a very large crowd. All subsequent registrants were given badges with a punched hole, which precluded admission to the building in which Mr. Humphrey was to speak. While some persons felt themselves insulted, most were understanding and gracious. Four hours after registration opened, over 1,000 printed registration forms were gone, and 750 more were hastily mimeographed in the staff headquarters. When those had been used by noon of the opening day, simple pieces of paper were put into service. Similarly, the carefully-considered badges were used up, in all colors, and bits of paper with identifying marks were shoved into plastic window pins for the latecomers.

Numerous women volunteers were pressed into service behind the registration tables, often only moments after they themselves had registered. The crowds were so pressing that instructions to the registrars went largely unheeded or unread. As a result, dozens of previously prepared badges were unclaimed at the end of the conference, while their rightful, and often distinguished, owners wore punched pieces of paper torn, almost literally, from the backs of envelopes.

Kits had been prepared for "VIPs", containing materials as well as identifying badges. Many of these never reached their designated holders. The Congressman who represents half of Arizona's citizens was one who was subsequently found to be cheerfully wandering around wearing a punched piece of paper, prepared by someone who obviously had not recognized his face or his name.

The conference had opened in a welter of confusion.

The Opening Session

The opening session of the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest was convened by James Patton, whose remarks were followed by welcoming speeches by a representative of Governor Sam Goddard of Arizona and by Mayor Lew Davis of Tucson. The Honorable Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps and Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, then delivered the keynote address of the conference to a packed house and a filled overflow auditorium.

"For the first time," he told an attentive and enthusiastic crowd, "we begin to perceive the poor not as a threat to our civilization but as a new source of fruition, of humanity, of compassion, and of dignity."

"Our rejection of the poor does more than hurt the poor. It hurts us. It cripples our nation. It scars our spirit. And particularly, it frightens our children. They find their world peopled by 'bogeymen' — people who are different: black instead of white, speaking Spanish, not English; and because they don't know these people as friends, they fear them as enemies. Our children become the prey of our own fears and the captives of our own myths."

Southwest
N. ARIZONA

Lester Oliver, Sargent Shriver, Robert B. Choate

"We did not come here with a Federal checkbook," he assured his listeners, "we did not come here with a Federal blueprint. We did not come here to impose our views on you — to tell you what is best for the poor. We came instead to listen to the voices of the poor and the voices of those genuinely concerned about poverty."

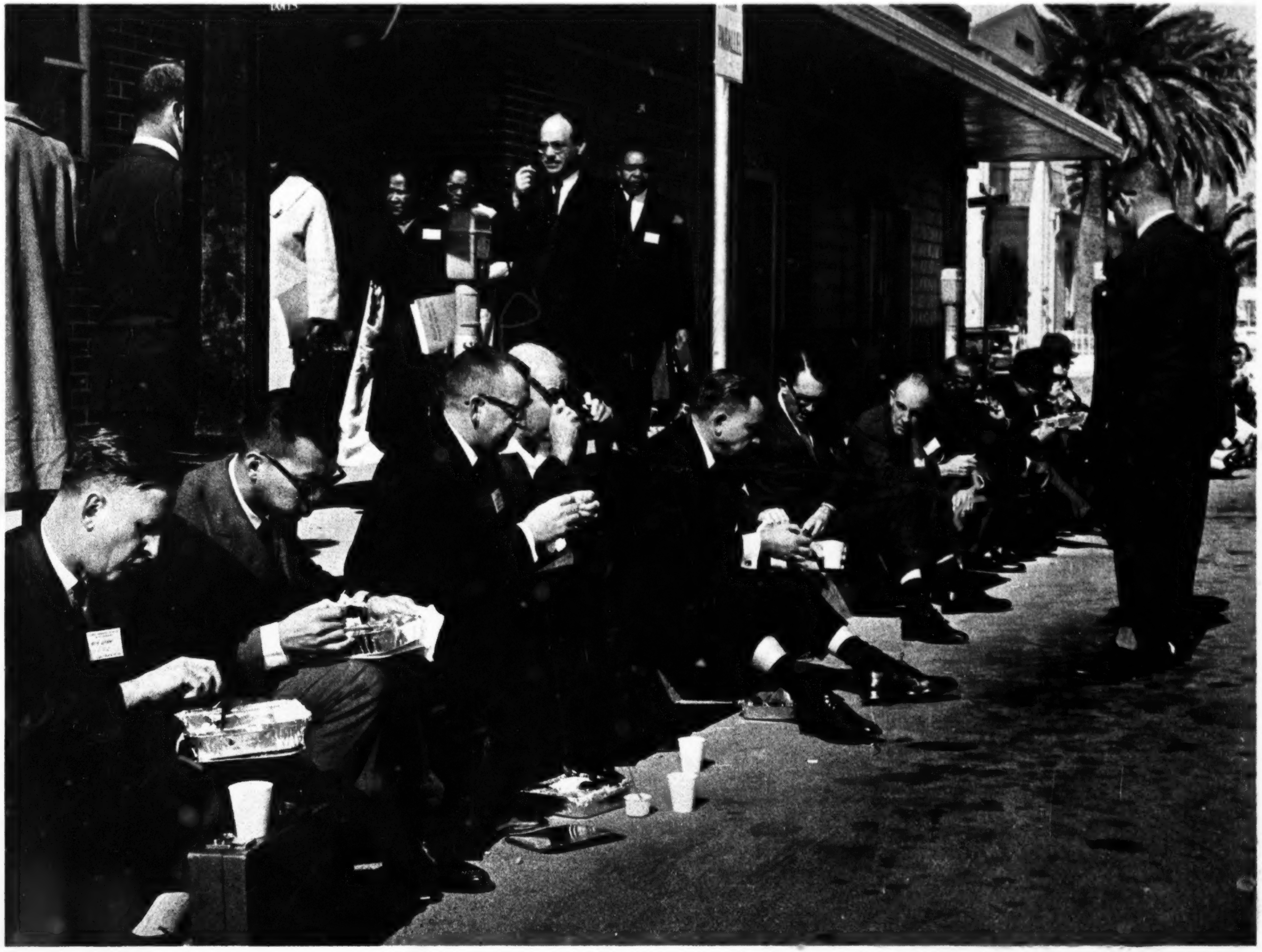
Unfortunately, Mr. Shriver was unable to stay long enough to hear the voices of the poor in the carefully scheduled afternoon hearing, and boarded his plane almost immediately to return to Washington.

After Mr. Shriver's remarks, a discussion was continued by five leaders of the Southwest, representing the major ethnic groups of the area. Opening for the group was Senator Joseph Montoya, junior United States Senator from New Mexico. "I believe that it is about time to forget the diagnosis of poverty and to proceed with the prognosis," he asserted. "The great Southwest has enjoyed an unparalleled renaissance during the past decade . . . But why the persistence of poverty in an otherwise booming economy? Much of the need in the vast Southwest exists in the rural areas . . . in their isolation, many of these people are deeply attached to the land. Relocation is not an answer to their unemployment . . . Much of it is high and arid country, devoid of almost everything but striking natural beauty. It is a land difficult to irrigate . . . and hard put to maintain life at a comfortable level."

Dr. William Fowler, of the Office of the Superintendent of Schools in Los Angeles, issued a challenge to Negro leaders who have rallied to the cause of Civil Rights. "I would like to throw this out . . . to all of them," said Dr. Fowler, himself a Negro, "Whitney Young, (Roy) Wilkins, Martin Luther King, James Farmer and all the others— I would like to see them use the same zeal and the same fervor and sell the idea to the Negro that along with Civil Rights come basic personal responsibilities . . . They need to step up the program by which they urge, implore, publicize and demand of the Negroes that they apply the same conscionable effort, the same vigor in accepting their basic responsibilities for their own self-improvement."

DR. WILLIAM FOWLER

Lester Oliver, Chairman of the White Mountain Apache Tribe, spoke as a representative of the Indians. "I am confident," he said, "that the Indian people of the Southwest are now ready to accept



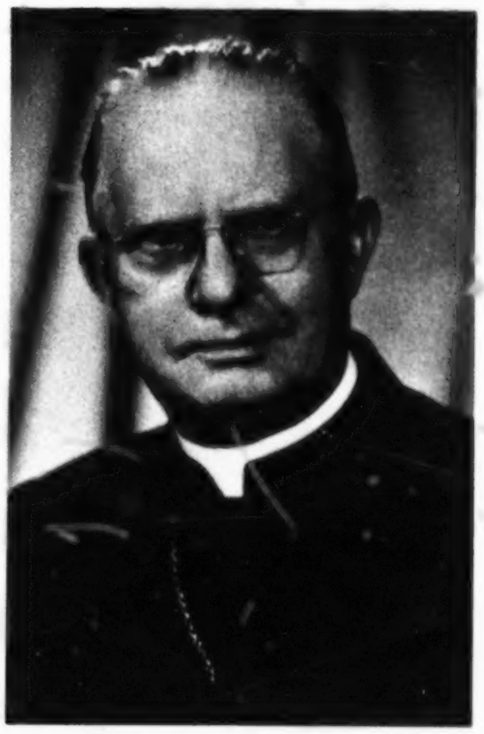
the full responsibility of citizenship of Arizona, of the United States . . . Our Indian people of the Southwest do not request handouts or tokens, for Indian life is based on self-sufficiency. We do need training and education and in some cases economic assistance to discharge the full responsibilities of citizenship."

Dr. Paul F. O'Rourke, speaking not only as Director of California's Anti-Poverty Program, but as one deeply concerned with the plight of migrant agricultural workers in our society, told the group, "We have given too little awareness to the history of this land which has made us so affluent. In our haste we tend to equate material poverty with spiritual and cultural poverty . . . The 'Anglo' must realize that many who are poor in the Southwest have rich and priceless traditions — a cultural kind of affluence which we need badly to share."

Concluding the discussion was Herrick Roth, Anglo labor leader from Colorado. "People do want self help programs, but when they do there has to be a majority group that's ready to kick the door open . . . maybe this conference will help us to understand ways and means of kicking the door open.

"There's one thing about all this that you've got to remember," he concluded. "You can never lose your militancy or you will not move."

After a brief recess for box lunches in the Patio of the Tucson Music Center (and up and down the street), the group reassembled for a major address by the Most Reverend Robert Lucey, Archbishop of the San Antonio Diocese. Archbishop Lucey, a well-known fighter for the welfare of the impoverished, chastised great numbers of citizens who, he said, "in the face of destitution are not hard-hearted, they're just thoughtless. They're too busy to notice the tragedies of bad housing, hunger and disease. They contribute according to their means to the United Fund or to the Community Chest, but the degradation of human personality caused by poverty in their city has not been brought home to them."



ARCHBISHOP ROBERT LUCEY

Issuing a clarion call to those who would see the lot of the farm worker improved, Archbishop Lucey urged that labor leaders "get busy and show the value and necessity of labor unions, for the immense mass of workers still are unorganized . . .

The atmosphere in much of the Southwest is not favorable to labor unions. That atmosphere has been created by strongly organized employers and manufacturers, by powerful corporations and vested interests, and in Texas by a legislature that has made the existence and growth of labor unions as difficult as possible . . . Why do these groups of willful men demand that working people stay out of labor unions? Because they are living in the 18th century. The unorganized breadwinners will work longer hours for less pay under worse conditions than those who are organized . . . The economic philosophy of many of our citizens is thoroughly primitive."

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON POVERTY
in the Southwest
TUCSON, ARIZONA
PRESS SECTION

Chapter V

The Impoverished Speak

At 2:30 on Monday afternoon, Hearing #1 was called to order. The Tucson Music Center, with a seating capacity of 940, was filled, with persons standing against the walls. With Father Vizzard presiding and Grace Olivarez on the platform to introduce each witness, there was unfolded a unique panorama. Fourteen persons, with dignity and conviction, spoke about what it means to be poor, the effects of poverty, and their ideas as how the poor could be helped to help themselves.

Quotations from their remarks follow:

MRS. CHARSIE FULLER, California, Negro, mother of five, separated from her husband, not employed

"People in the relief agencies . . . can tell you what your maximum is, but they don't know what you eat and how you sleep."

Is it better to prepare a mother for a trade while her house fills with juvenile delinquents? "You cannot train for a job and still be a mother."

If she got a job, she would lose her public assistance, or else part of her salary would be taken. "This is one reason why we poor people can never make progress, because as soon as you move one foot up, they pull the other one out."

MRS. CHARSIE FULLER

MRS. ANITA ALIRE, Colorado, Mexican-American, mother of five, formerly an "ADC mother", about to go to work as a visiting nurse

"Who are the poor? In Colorado, and throughout the great Southwest, the predominantly poor are the direct descendants of the first settlers of the area — the Spanish-named people . . . In any community where they are found throughout the Southwest, the great majority are invariably 'on the other side of the tracks' . . ."

"The great difference in family structure in the Spanish culture as compared to the Anglo family has resulted in a weakening of Spanish family morale. In our culture . . . the father is the central guiding figure as well as the provider . . . The American Way calls for more aggressive women . . . In the Spanish home, imitation has resulted in deflating the ego of the male figure . . . When a man sees that his children will be better off without him . . . his decision is not too difficult . . ."

"Is this great War on Poverty just one more political exploitation? . . . Who will be conducting the programs at the local level? The same bigots who for years have discriminated against us economically, as well as politically, and exploited us for years? . . . Those same who patted us on the back for a short time before elections only to forget our existence after election?"

MRS. JANICE BRADSHAW, Colorado, Negro, mother of seven children, was receiving aid to dependent children, but is no longer

MRS. JANICE BRADSHAW

"To me, poverty is a widow on welfare whose landlord cuts off the heat . . ."

"Poverty is being awakened in the middle of the night by a welfare worker who demands to search your apartment." (Her brother was visiting her, but when welfare workers found his shoes, she was cut off from ADC on the grounds that a man was living with her.)

"Poverty is the enormous burden of waiting . . ." (in employment offices, in doctors' offices)

Two-year-old child with congenital glaucoma lost 80% of his vision by the time treatment was authorized by welfare authorities. "I became so infuriated, I asked, 'If this baby was a white baby, would he be refused?' " Her answer was, "Don't bring discrimination into this."

Speaking of her ten-year-old son: "He was taken from me for a school for boys. He's not delinquent. He needs, it's true, a psychiatrist, but far more than that he needs adequate food, clothing, a home life. I cannot be away from home at night and sleep half the day and adequately take care of my children."

JOHN C. RAINER, Taos Pueblo Indian, New Mexico

"In order to alleviate the poverty which means that Indians and others in the Southwest, too many of whom are often hungry, often cold, often sick, and often malnourished, even when their stomachs are full — the Southwest needs more opportunities for its people who still love to work, who take pride in their work, and who work with an appreciation for having work to do which has been lost by many Americans."

JOHN C. RAINER

". . . unless you catch these elusive differences in our people of the Southwest who are Spanish-American and Indian, you will not understand the differences which must be taken into account in planning, programming . . . in the War on Poverty."

"For unlike our White brothers, or our Negro brothers, our behavior . . . reflects our greater concern for poverty which has to do with things *not* material."

"It is not that our people are lacking in intelligence or ability that we have not 'shaped up' the way some of you would have us do. It is only that we have looked often and long at your total way of life and while we have accepted some of it, while we have been grateful for some of the physical comforts you have made possible, we also know that excessive greed, hard matrialism, and shameless exploitation of natural resources can rob the country, the people and the human spirit of the beauty and the gift of life itself."

DR. BEN YELLEN, California, Anglo, physician

"I was just the ordinary type of individual practicing medicine in the Imperial Valley when I noticed that the braceros that were brought in under Public Law No. 78 were being swindled on their medical services . . . They had an office in the Dunlap (?) Hotel; this guy couldn't come around all the time. There was no place in the office, so on one side of the street and on the other side of the street, these people were sitting on the curb — "curbstone medicine" . . . He never showed up at all certain days — and they were sitting all day on the curbstones."

DR. BEN YELLEN

"I went to help them . . . what I found, when I took a bracero into a small claims court and loaned the bracero a dollar for his claim, was that the United States Border Patrol was told by the big ranchers that the man was A.W.O.L., and he was sent back to Mexico."

"I began to investigate and I found a lot of things . . . I found the domestic farm workers were systematically being prevented from getting work . . . I posted notices telling them to come to me because they were nobody according to the ranchers . . . I told them, 'Now, here's the law, and what you do is get a few fellows who have been treated the same as you. You are going to sue them on the basis of the law which prohibits discrimination because of country or origin. In other words, you were born in the United States, and they want people from Mexico instead.' "

MRS. RACHEL ASHLEY, Crow Creek Sioux Indian, Colorado

In 1957, family moved to St. Louis under Relocation Program. "We soon learned, however, that it was a constant struggle to make ends meet with rent, carfare, lunch money, telephone, utilities, medical bills, parking, clothes, dry-cleaning, and even coin-operated public rest rooms . . . We felt very alone and strange. We sought out Indian people to socialize with but even that became difficult because we had to go so far to get to where they were . . . My husband then became discouraged with his impersonal, dead-end job and we felt lonelier and lonelier without people we understood and who understood us. So we moved back to the reservation."

"Many Indian people do not understand why the Indian Bureau does not fully and frankly prepare prospective trainees for the kinds of problems they will face . . ."

"Our Indian people are different. Their values are different. They fall apart when their large, close-knit, extended family life patterns are torn apart in the City."

ROY ELIZONDO, Texas, Mexican-American

"Mexican-Americans have read the famous sign 'Anglos Only Need Apply.' They have seen the same signs in the newspapers, and the man behind the desk at the employment agency who looks up with the same sign written in his eyes — We don't hire Mexicans. You may think that the conditions have changed in the last two years. Well, they have somewhat. The fellow doesn't put the sign in the window any more. This would be discrimination. But it's the same answer inside the office. After all, he's the same guy who does the hiring and firing.

ROY ELIZONDO

"I contend that the Federal government and the City of Houston are promoting poverty . . . The Federal government builds a multi-million dollar post-office in Houston, and yet it leases out its cafeteria to a private firm who . . . pays its help 75¢ an hour, approximately $30 a week, approximately $120 a month, which is not even half of what it takes to be poverty-stricken. The state builds beautiful hospitals, beautiful schools . . . it hires maintenance men who have a take-home pay of $152 (per month)."

JOSE SANTACRUZ, Texas, Mexican-American (spoke through interpreter)

"People who are not American citizens . . . have a problem because the State of Texas does not help us in our old age. There are literally thousands of persons in the State of Texas, senior citizens, who have lived in that state, who are anywhere from 50 to 70 years, people who are not citizens, who in their younger days worked in farm labor and were not covered by social security.

"The want to become American citizens . . . they cannot . . . because of their age. The elderly non-citizen who wants to become a citizen of this country has to prove the date of his birth, or the entry into the United

States . . . If he does not have the papers he must have witnesses who will prove the date of his birth."

Q. (by panelist): I want to know what the difficulty is in obtaining witnesses to swear as to the age of the person.

A.: He says the problem is that they die.

JOE RENTERIA, Texas, Mexican-American, 17 years old

"Love is an emotion you can't help; it is respect you have to work for . . . Where does a boy find reason when the master is never home? . . . Where does a boy meet respect when the master is finally home and beating on the woman, when the mother is not a mother at all but still a homeless woman, lacking respect herself? Why does a boy learn respect,—because he's not as strong as a man he once loved strongly? . . . Why can't a man become a respectful image? Maybe he too was once a boy whose only symbol of respect was a belt buckle or the back of a hand . . ."

MRS. VIOLET ROTAN, California, Anglo, migrant worker

"Poverty of the farm workers was created by the large growers of this country, and the legislators have done more to keep us there than anyone else, by making us second-class citizens. Your hour and wage laws read 'farm workers excluded', — unemployment insurance, 'farm workers excluded'. Also your labor laws, the right to organize, the right to collective bargaining, the right to have a voice,—'farm workers excluded.'"

"We don't need any special privileges, but we do need equal rights . . ."

"Contrary to what people say, we aren't of a different breed. There isn't anything wrong with being a farm worker. It is a good and honest way to make a living."

GWENDOLYN TERRELL, Texas, Negro, 17 years old

"The reason that I want to go to college is because all my life I have wanted to be somebody. I didn't want to be like the people who lived in my neighborhood. I wanted to be better, even better than some of my relatives. I want to fix myself so that my children will not have to grow up like I did."

"Nobody can be anything if they grow up in 'nothing.'"

"I would like to be a teacher so that I could help kids like me who would probably get off on the wrong track, to help them straighten up and show them the best way in life."

GWENDOLYN TERRELL

CLIFTON MELONZON, Arizona, Mexican-American, 49 years old, unemployed miner

CLIFTON MELONZON

". . . I saw my job with thirteen years of seniority wiped out in a final stroke as the company decided it was no longer profitable to continue its underground mining operation . . . It is said that the new system is much more productive and profitable than the old, but this is of little consolation to me."

". . . you may think, in four and a half years, this man must have found some opportunities for decent employment. But . . . I come from a one-industry community and . . . the entire economy of the area depends upon that one chief source of employment . . ."

"My experience has convinced me that the unemployed . . . worker, who is . . . past the ancient age of forty-five, might as well consider himself a 'living corpse' with no further place among the ranks of the employed."

"it seems to me that if private industry will not accept the moral responsibility for the welfare of its discarded employees, then there must be someone who will step forward to correct this wrong."

MRS. BARBARA NORTON, speaking for six former state welfare workers, Arizona

"Although Arizona ranks 29th in per capita income, no state or political subdivision with the sole exception of Puerto Rico spends less to administer programs of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and Old Age Assistance."

"Arizona's public welfare regulations are designed to punish and intimidate and to deprive its citizens of human dignity."

"In spite of this evidence (that in only 1.9% of reviews was there any evidence of withholding information or intent to defraud), the six members of the Special Services Unit received last year as much travel allowance to uncover 'chiselers' in the AFDC program as did all the members of the Maricopa County (Phoenix) staff to determine initial and continuing eligibility of all clients in the county in all assistance programs and to give services in the Child Welfare program.

"The Arizona State Welfare Board must stop being conscientious objectors in the War on Poverty."

MRS. BETTY BUTLER, California, Negro, mother of seven, formerly an ADC mother, but not now receiving aid

"I am an old-fashioned mother. I sew. I do some canning. I piece quilts. I raise a garden. These things have kept me going."

A total of 86 statements were submitted to the conference staff by members of the impoverished or their representatives, either in writing or on tape. Many of the 86 involved attended the conference, although obviously all could not speak. There had been clear and repeated explanation that not all those being met and taped would be able to receive subsidy, and of those receiving subsidy to attend, not all would be able to speak because of insufficient time. Nonetheless, there were some bitter complaints from a few persons who were disappointed at not being chosen as a "star witness." Many of those who were not able to testify had stories well worth hearing, and quotations from some of them follow:

HELEN LUCERO, Colorado, Mexican-American

"We had no play pen for the little babies and we were in constant fear that they would be attacked by the rats while crawling on the floor and into the single closet where somehow the rats came and went."

"I began to notice what conditions like this were doing not only to me and my mother, but to other girls in these slum areas. They were always in trouble — drinking, marijuana, sexual promiscuity, running away, etc. I think maybe the fights—big gang fights among the girls—were the worst."

OTHA WOODLEY, Negro, Colorado

"Everything you do is harder because you're colored, but then again a lot of us colored people use that as an excuse."

"I'm bitter about the law, and I'm bitter about anything white. They tried to send me to the penitentiary. I was up for grand larceny, but could prove by fifty witnesses that I was nowhere around. I pleaded 'Not guilty' and one of the court officials said, 'Nigger, I'm going to see you go to the pen.' It cost my relatives over a thousand dollars in bribes and pay-offs to get me off."

"My kids have never been hungry yet, but if they are, I'll take what I need."

"If there had been any sense in my head, I'd have stayed in the army."

REYNALDO GARCIA, Texas, Mexican-American

"The State Committee for the Blind helped train me to make floor mats through their vocational training. However, there is no great demand for that type of work . . ."

"I wish that I could shake off this uselessness which has taken hold of me for so long. I only pray that my children will not become blind, and that I can learn a worthwhile vocation in which I can earn a reasonable livelihood."

ROMEO JIMINEZ, Texas, Mexican-American, farm worker

"The braceros themselves used to ask me why it is that you people here in the United States treat us better than you do your own people. Braceros get better pay, better housing, better transportation and they get a better deal all around than the citizens get."

WILBURN McKENZIE, Texas

"State aid and other welfare programs are wonderful things as I well know by personal contact, but it's not enough because it doesn't give people enough of an opportunity to help themselves . . ."

JOE BENITES, Arizona, Mexican-American

". . . some Anglo called you a dirty little Mexican, when your family in fact was highly respected in the community."

"There is nothing more devastating to a child than to be told you could not go swimming in a city pool because you were a Mexican."

HENRY L. WATSON, Texas, Negro

"There are children in this community who are six, seven and eight years old staying at home keeping their two, three, four year old sisters and brothers because their parents have to work."

HARRY KOGER, Anglo, Texas

"For several years, my wife and I worked . . . in most of our Southern states . . . we saw many heart-breaking scenes of human misery and suffering; but we are thoroughly convinced that nowhere in our nation is poverty, hunger and untimely death as widespread as it is in parts of Texas."

MANUEL DIAZ, Colorado, Mexican-American

"The agricultural migrant worker making fifty cents an hour . . . must nurse his meager earnings to see him through the lean and long winter months."

"Poverty of course is also a matter of viewpoint. It make a difference whether you think of it as something which affects somebody on the other side of town, or you actually are one of the fifth of the nation's population who are classed as poor."

WILLIAM LARSHA, California, Negro

"However, anti-poverty efforts will come face to face with an array of parasitical institutions; institutions whose existence and dependency are more or less owed to the state of poverty."

ELEANOR CEPHUS, Texas, Negro, farm worker

"I used to pick 200 pounds when I was pregnant . . . a dollar a day."

"In Texas you pick on your knees 'cause the cotton don't grow so tall."

ELISA VALENCIA, Arizona, Mexican-American

"I was receiving ADC . . . I heard a knock at the door at 1:30 A.M. . . . state investigators . . . he showed me a badge . . . Somebody had report my husband was at my house staying with me while I was getting ADC.

"I went to my case worker and told her everything and I told her to discontinue my checks cause my girls and myself where very inbrass and felt terrible. So, I dicide to do the best without ADC. I didn't think that $107.00 dollars a month where worth the night mare we went through." (sic)

LLOYD TAPLIN, New Mexico, Negro

"Every individual must be trained in a formal or technical area . . . If not the world will have nothing to offer you, because you have nothing to offer the world."

"No matter how much you prepare yourself, if you are denied the opportunity to work in your field, you will always remain in poverty."

"I have been denied the opportunity to advance innumerable times because I am a Negro."

"No matter how much dignity you've got, you can lose it all with an empty stomache."

DIANA PEREA, Colorado, Mexican-American, age 19 years

Took overdose of sleeping pills when not yet 14 years old; she was by that age "tired of working, depressed."

"I got a car, the car broke down. I couldn't pay for it and they wanted to sue me, so I forged a check."

Married at 15, she was left to support her child alone, since her husband was sent to jail. "I started working the town. I got paid for it — they call it 'hustling' . . . I wouldn't go for less than $30 because I needed the money. I got it too. All you have to do is be nice . . . To go out and hustle, I had to be under the influence of narcotics."

Referring to help from counsellors at Denver Job Opportunity Center: "People never wanted to help me before; they always wanted to get me out of the way . . . The counsellors are great. If you have a problem, they'll sit down and talk to you, even an hour."

In February, 1965, several weeks after the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest, Diana Perea was found dead of an accidental overdose of narcotics.

BEN GAYTON, Colorado, Mexican-American

"I don't know where the bitterness, resentment, the hate for the law, for society starts. Is it being . . . so poor that on Christmas you break into a store to get bread and baloney to celebrate the Holiday . . . Poor that you break into your neighborhood center and go into the basement and stand around the furnace to keep warm . . . Poor that because you never knew vegetables and fruits, one has no desire or taste for them now?

"Is the bitterness because in the young years the police harass, hound you and instill a fear of the law in you so you never quite forget to hate?"

BILLIE ROGERS, New Mexico, Navajo Indian

"These Indian youngsters are capable of great effort and are by no means lazy. It is that they do not grow up in an atmosphere where steady and regular employment is expected, and we as parents and adults ignorantly assume that they should have work attitudes which have not adequately or even ever been developed in them."

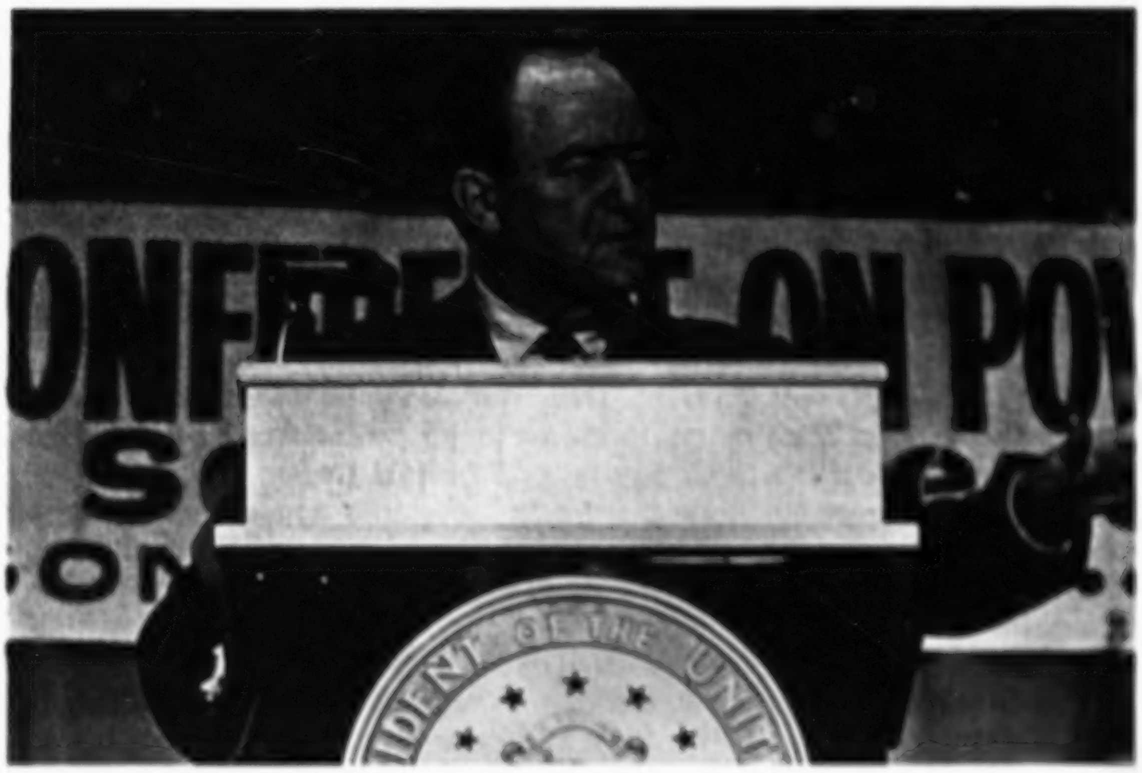
ISABEL ORTIZ, Texas, Mexican-American

"My wife died at the age of 32, leaving me with the complete responsibility of raising our 10 children . . . I am a migrant worker, and have been all my life . . . out of necessity, I take my family with me.

"I was eligible for the G. I. Bill of Rights and started studying to become an automobile mechanic . . . I had to quit to make more money to support my large family."

ANTHONY QUINTANA, Colorado, Mexican-American, farm laborer

"My wages were between $3 and $4 for a ten-hour day. I averaged about $35 every two weeks, working ten hours a day, six days a week. This starvation existence went on for the next ten years."



Chapter VI

The Vice-President Appears

Vice-President Humphrey arrived in Tucson for the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest on Sunday evening, January 24. Accompanied by his wife, he landed at the Arizona Air National Guard strip in the Presidential "Jet Star", chatted with reporters, joked with an excited crowd, and sped off to a reception given for him by his close friend, Conference chairman James Patton.

On Monday, while delegates assembled for the opening of the Conference, the Vice-President, along with Mrs. Humphrey, Congressman Morris Udall of Arizona and Phileo Nash, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, took a first-hand look at a pocket of poverty — the Papago Indian village of San Xavier, not far from Tucson.

The presence of the Vice-President in Tucson created a major problem of security in the small crowded area which was crammed with Conference delegates. Police with high-powered rifles were stationed on the tops of buildings in anticipation of the Vice-President's appearance Monday evening. Attempts by the Secret Service to secure a list of all persons who would be present in the Tucson Music Center for Mr. Humphrey's speech were scuttled in view of the unanticipated registration, and a more realistic system of priority according to badges was substituted. At a late hour, the Vice-President decided to attend a dinner which was being given for the subsidized guests; and what had been intended as a simple buffet, designed to feed a large number of people quickly and efficiently, turned into a top security project for the Secret Service, as well.

The Vice-President's address to the Poverty Conference was his first major address since his inauguration the previous week. Speaking to an overflow audience in the Tucson Music Center, and to hundreds more who watched on closed circuit TV in the nearby Masonic Temple, where he had visited them briefly moments before, he sounded the call to arms in the war on poverty. "Go back and tell them the war against unemployment, discrimination, disease, and ignorance has begun.

"Tell them to get out and fight. Their war and your war won't be waged in Appalachia or in Washington. It will be fought — and won or lost — right here on the sands of the great Southwest," he told them.

Departing almost completely from his prepared remarks in favor of familiar vigorous Humphrey rhetoric, he told his listeners, "The wonderful thing about our war on poverty is that we have the means to win it. At other times and in other countries, we could say, 'It's too bad about the poor, but there's nothing we can do about it.'

"But in this land right now, can any of you say we haven't the means? No, you can't," he shouted. "We have to do this thing because it is the right thing — the honest and the human thing to do — and we cannot fail."

James Patton, Mrs. Hubert Humphrey, Father James Vizzard

Vice-President Humphrey spoke for two hours to an audience which interrupted him 26 times with applause. Scoffing at the critics of "deficit spending", he told them, "We should pay more attention to the deficits in education, poverty, discrimination and health, rather than deficits in dollars."

Referring to his visit to the Papago Indians earlier in the day, the Vice-President said he was "affected by the long-endured injustice of the Papago reservation."

"Fifteen minutes from where we sit tonight," he said, "there is abject poverty."

Chapter VII

The Second Day

Midnight Oil

The first day of the conference ran directly into the second for most of the conference planners and staff, without a break. The limited number of testimonies submitted for Hearings #2 and #3 worried them. Knowing that a number of statements had been brought to Tucson which had never even reached the staff, they had placed "sign-up sheets" in the lobby of the headquarters hotel for those who were prepared to testify on the second day. These roles filled rapidly, and even included the names of some who, having not been selected to appear at Hearing #1, felt themselves entitled to speak at a later time, regardless of the subject matter assigned to subsequent hearings.

Those who could be reached were asked to hand in their statements immediately. For hours into the night, they were read for content and applicability. Three simultaneous sessions were planned for each of the Tuesday hearings—those for private organizations and those for public agencies. Not until a few moments before the first hearings were scheduled to start were the lists able to be posted, scheduling the names and sessions of those persons being asked to testify. The original panel of twelve, who heard the first day's witnesses, was expanded to include a number of Southwesterners, some of whom had themselves testified the previous day; and the new enlarged group was then divided among the concurrent hearings.

During the period that Vice-President Humphrey was in attendance at the Conference, the Secret Service seemed excessively sensitive about its public image. A migrant farm worker activist had brought for distribution at the Conference a number of copies of a magazine article which was, among other things, critical of the Secret Service. They were appropriated and never seen again.

Numerous hurdles stood in the path of Planned Parenthood supporters at the Conference. From the beginning, they had sought to speak and have a display from their organization. Despite the strong Catholic backing of the Conference, there was never any question among the sponsors or the policy-makers that it was correct to include them among those who had a legitimate reason to speak. Nevertheless, there were unusual difficulties at every turn as they sought first exhibit space for their material, then to be placed on the list of speakers. Both objectives were finally achieved, but not without unaccountable "oversights" and "errors".

Hearing #2

The three concurrent sessions of Hearing #2 were held in the Tucson Music Center, the Masonic Temple, and a large meeting room in the Santa

Rita Hotel. A total of 43 persons spoke, representing 39 private organizations. They had been asked to report on specific programs being conducted by their groups to assist the poor. Some speakers responded accurately to the invitation. Some, confronted with only five minutes in which to present highlights of their information, spoke largely of the need for such services. Others reported rather on needed or proposed programs.

The limitations of space preclude anything here but a sample representation of some of the remarks:

RT. REV. MSGR. RAYMOND J. GALLAGHER, Secretary,
National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D.C.

"The Catholic Charities have developed into a service for the middle class, again depriving those who have first claim because of impoverishment. I trust that this drift away from this area will be terminated . . . that drift which may have carried far afield many other organizations . . ."

C. L. JONES, General Electric Company, San Jose, California

"Whenever a minority group is at a disadvantage, the G. E. Company is at a disadvantage, too . . . The Negroes . . . are coming into my office continually seeking employment . . . ; but so far they are inadequately trained for the jobs.

"We have people from our plant going out into the schools trying to encourage young people to stay with education programs that will enable them not only to seek employment but to obtain it . . .

". . . but the subject that I want to discuss with you today involves a specific program that we have developed with the Bureau of Indian Affairs for a . . . retraining program to prepare a group of people to step into jobs that we have open now . . . We worked out a program to train 14 Indians . . . would not have been considered qualified to step into a job that we had open. But we placed them in a 16-week pre-training program that we have in manufacturing of nuclear . . . reactors. It covered a wide range of very specialized requirements. At the conclusion of the training we were able to place these men in better qualified jobs than the normal run of the mill because of the training they had received. We feel that retraining the individual can answer the problem and must be geared to a specific kind of job."

MANUEL LERMA, League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC),
Mesa, Arizona

"I . . . speak to you today on the Little School of 400. For six weeks immediately before entering the first grade, pre-school children are taught what they especially don't know, and that is English. These children are taught 400 specialized words of English . . .

"In the Chandler School District . . . these children are non-English-speaking children that were entered in the first grade — we have 76% that were being retained in the first grade, 60% in the second grade.

"Lulac Council 251 of the Mesa area sponsored a School of 400 in Chandler. We have kept a record of 55 children that attended our Little School the first year . . . 54 children passed; one was retained. The second year, out of the 54 we have no record of any failing the second grade.

"We have conducted more than 25 school sessions of the '400' throughout this area and, as I stated before, our results have been tremendous. But we do need backing by our state and city government officials."

JAMES D. HODGSON, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Burbank, California

"Because of its position as a government contractor, the Lockheed Company naturally and fittingly has a special sense of community responsibility, and the company has endeavored to play the role of what might be called the corporate good citizen.

"In recent years, when the company located new plants, we practiced strategic placement of our subcontracts. We and other aerospace contractors emphasized the patronage of business firms in distressed areas . . .

"The 'Plan for Progress' . . . was to take affirmative action in the area of recruitment, training, and advancement and motivation of members of minority groups . . . with Lockheed, this progress has been particularly significant among the Negro and the Mexican-American groups . . .

"There is another deprived group that has received our attention, and that is the handicapped . . . Today, nearly 20% of our employees have medical limitations of some kind or another . . .

"The Lockheed Leadership Fund, with provision for scholarships, fellowships, and support of higher education, has been providing assistance for more than a decade. Activities of the fund include such things as sizeable financial support of the United Negro College Fund."

MRS. EILEEN STRUTZ, Executive Director, Planned Parenthood Center, Tucson, Arizona

"The goal of Planned Parenthood is to help individual families to have babies by choice . . .

"Study tests show that there is a strong negative relationship between size of family and the size of income . . . For the large family, supporting, educating, and otherwise rearing their children . . . makes upward mobility difficult, if not downright impossible . . .

"To fight poverty without birth control is to fight with one hand tied behind the back. The studies . . . also reveal that low-income families want as few children as do more fortunate couples, but in most of the nation, and particularly here in southern Arizona, couples who cannot afford private physicians are blocked in seeking birth control help.

". . . for most low-income patients, there has been no previous experience with planning. For most of them, meals are bought on a day to day basis. They do not plan ahead a week; they are not able to. So family planning for them is their first experience with any kind of long-range planning."

MRS. IDA BERK, Committee of the Poor, E. Palo Alto, California

"We are the angry poor. We are tired of having people do things for us . . . we have been surveyed, our needs have been asked; and our desires have not been granted . . .

"We projected an outline of what we thought was needed . . . the creation of jobs for the unemployed . . . Using the facilities of the high school and adult education, we have opened a nursery school . . . We find the need for more job openings for teachers' aides . . . This is the way we have been attempting to create jobs in our neighborhood.

"We are interested in retraining of unskilled and semi-skilled workers displaced by automation . . . We are interested in training for future jobs . . . We are also engaged in political type activity. We are trying to develop and unite a group of people who are concerned about their total welfare . . .

"Most of us are in the Committee of the Poor in the whole community. The committee has a petition that is circulated, and when you sign, and there are no dues, you become a member of the Committee . . . The Committee itself is the executive body of the War on Poverty for our area."

MRS. LUADA BOSWELL, Girl Scouts of the USA; Adviser, Special Area Service, Los Altos, California

"Girl scouting is open to all girls regardless of background, economic situation, regardless of color or creed . . . It looks expensive; however, a council can assist a girl in paying her membership dues, to meet the program activity expenses, and can help her to get a uniform . . .

". . . we have for a long time been serving girls from low-income areas. However, our efforts have been very small and mostly in the field of demonstration . . .

"There are 725 Girl Scouts on Indian reservations (in New Mexico). The leaders are Indian women, and right now, those women have been trained to become trainers of leaders."

Q. (by panelist): "I would like some clarification on the point that was made concerning the fact that perhaps the council overlooks or is unattainable by the lower income groups. Is it just because they don't have enough people working?"

A.: "I have worked with several Negro groups. It is a fact however that this has been a middle class program. We need leaders for the lower income groups. There are not sufficient people trained, parents are working, etc."

ROY M. TWITTY, Chairman, C.O.R.E. (Congress on Racial Equality), Tucson, Arizona

"CORE found that there was an apparent lack of communication between the State Employment Office and the minority peoples . . . It was found during these interviews (conducted by CORE) that many people felt that it was hopeless to go to the Employment Office, because of the lack of jobs for them, and because of the lack of understanding on the part of the interviewers. CORE estimates that three-fourths of the people interviewed had given up hope of finding work . . .

"We have been working fairly closely with the Manpower Development anad Training Act, and we have been sending youth, young people, down to the Employment Office . . .

". . . prison labor . . . is what CORE is involved in right now . . . We found that the majority of the prisoners working were of the minority groups . . . Their reason for being in jail was lack of money to pay their fines . . . They are taking the jobs away from people that would otherwise be seeking these jobs . . . if they were on the outside, these are the jobs they would be seeking."

CLARENCE LAWS, NAACP, Dallas, Texas

"Equality of opportunity in education is essential to equality of opportunity of any kind. The median educational level of Negroes in Texas is 8.1 years, as compared with 10.8 years for whites. When you compare the type of education the Negroes are receiving with that of the whites, the education of Negroes suffers by comparison.

"In school integration, we have tokenism at its worst. Today in Dallas, we have 21,000 more Negroes in segregated classrooms than we had in 1954 when the Supreme Court decision was issued."

DR. IRVING LAZAR, Neumeyer Foundation, Beverly Hills, California

"We set out to demonstrate, first of all, that a total program of community services of all kinds could be developed feasibly with a staff of part-time people. Secondly, that we could do training of accurately selected people so that they could take on fractions of traditionally professional jobs, working with professionals, as adjuncts to their services . . .

"The heart of this program is something of a family agent . . . who works with a family 5 - 15 hours a week- These are families referred either through juvenile probation, or the Bureau of Public Assistance, and the job is that of acculturation. She helps them find the kind of help they need. She helps them fill out application forms . . . she goes to school with the mother when the principal complains . . . she may tutor the children . . .

"Our job orientation program, followed by the testing, precedes training, placement, or remedial work, which we provide . . . We operate eight kinds of youth groups . . . We run adult literacy groups . . . A neighborhood law firm operates in the area under our aegis . . .

"We use local people as paid workers in our job training program. We find men who have specific skills . . . they become our trainers. We do not however pay local people to come to committee meetings, or to do the normal duties of citizenship. We pay them for jobs . . . We have no volunteers. Everybody is paid. Everybody is paid the same amount — $2.00 an hour — casework supervisors, lawyers and indigenous aides, everybody up and down the line."

PAUL JACOBS, Citizens for Farm Labor, California

"We talk about a War on Poverty . . . If there's a war, there is the implication that there has to be an enemy. You don't fight a war in a vacuum. You fight a war against enemies. Citizens for Farm Labor has become convinced that the problem of the farm worker, like the problem of poverty in America, is not comparable to the problem of dealing with polio, for example. Everybody wants to fight polio and so you cheat the enemy — you cheat death by developing a vaccine . . . and the assumption is that polio will disappear. But in this war, there are real live honest-to-goodness enemies . . . It is not some vague impersonal thing which reason and good will and intelligence will defeat. This is an enemy with power; this is an enemy that has indeed a vested interest in continuing and maintaining poverty . . . the enemy in the state of California are the growers.

"Yes, there are enough farm workers in the state of California, because farm work . . . is decent, dignified, honorable work . . . As soon as agricultural interests had to do what everybody else does — exist by free competition — the wages of farm workers went up and we had a supply of farm workers."

REV. HAROLD LUNDGREN, Arizona Migrant Ministry, Phoenix, Arizona

"The role that we have taken to work with communities and with churches is to point as we go about in migrant labor camps, where these people live . . . because we have asked them to come to our communities, because they have contributed so much to our economy, and we have exploited them in so many ways. They live out on the fringes of life, as well as the fringes of the communities. People seldom see them, and if they do, they sort of hope that somehow they're going to go away . . .

"The thing we are thinking about is the personal relationship . . . What we are saying so often to them is: the old clothes you wouldn't be caught in are fine, and baskets at Christmastime — they may be good too — if only to remind the people that they are poor. But what we *really* need is a relationship between human beings . . ."

HERBERT WINCORN, industrialist, Sunny South Fashions, Dallas, Texas

". . . a significant number of skilled workers were dropping out of the industry . . . There was a scarcity of replacements and new applicants. One of the chief reasons for this was the change in employment patterns of the urban white female from factory to office . . .

"At the same time there was in Dallas a large pool of unemployed and untrained women . . . These were mainly Negroes and Latin-Americans. A large number of them were either wholly or partially dependent on welfare payments for subsistence . . .

"After many years of frustration, discussions began in December, 1962 that were to prove very fruitful. It took combined pressure from the Dallas manufacturers, prominent civic leaders, the Mayor, the Chamber of Commerce and the Texas Employment Commission to convince a reluctant and sometimes hostile school administration that adult vocational training classes for sewing machine operators should be established under the auspices and supervision of the Dallas Independent School System . . .

"The local industry group furnishes and maintains the equipment and provides supplies and instructors to the schools. In addition, the local manufacturers supplement the pay of the instructors by augmenting the salary authorized by the Texas Education Agency."

REV. G. SHUBERT FRYE, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the USA, New York

"The Board of National Missions . . . established hospitals, schools, community centers, and a great variety of services to minority groups and other people of special need. The purpose was to serve human beings, but further, to call government, industry, the professions, and other groups to serve the general welfare and to contribute to solutions to the special problems of those who do not participate in the basic processes and goods of society.

"In the Southwest the United Presbyterian Church continues to provide direct services in areas where suffering and alienation are critical . . . One of our important ministries consists in two mobile educational counsellors who serve Indian and Spanish-speaking students throughout the region who require special guidance and financial assistance in order to find their way into colleges and universities . . .

"A recent significant undertaking is a community development program among a colony of Yaqui Indians in Guadalupe, near Phoenix, where several hundred people have been deprived of many basic essentials of life for years. In cooperation with other churches and agencies, we have been able to help in the initiation of the kind of indigenous organization in which the people are helping themselves. They have added many improvements in their community; they have succeeded in obtaining governmental services not enjoyed before; they have conducted an extensive and successful voter registration campaign; they are moving on to new goals and programs."

ROBERT GRAY, American Friends Service Committee, Southwest Regional Offices, Pasadena, California

"We are convinced that no program (for the poor) will produce lasting results unless it gains the participation of the poor . . . Many are saying that the people at the bottom of the economic ladder cannot realistically be involved in shaping the programs which affect their future. We believe they can. We believe they must. It is true that the process of involving the people to be helped in the planning and execution of the program is time-consuming and sometimes discouraging but it is worthwhile (if only because of that involvement it provides to the participants.)

"In the San Joaquin Valley of California, the AFSC has been working since 1955 with the problems of poverty within agricultural labor. In Tulare County, the second richest farming county in the United States, many of the seasonal farm workers live in sub-standard shacks in settlements which lack community services. AFSC has helped residents organize themselves in order to meet some of their basic needs. The work involves patient exploration with people in shack towns to discover what their problems are and what can be done about them . . . Leadership qualities in the people were tapped and they grew in confidence . . .

"We tackled the job problem with a farm labor co-op . . . Today the AFSC and the co-op are engaged in a retraining program for farm laborers under the Department of Labor . . .

"To tackle the housing problem, we added to our community development staff a builder with a concern to experiment in housing people in an area where the median annual income was $2600 . . ."

* * * * *

In addition to the 42 persons who spoke in the combined sessions of Hearing #2, another 36 had submitted prepared statements. Very brief quotations and comments from some of them follow:

DAVID H. HUGHES, General Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association of Phoenix and the Valley of the Sun, Arizona

"There is a wide difference of opinion as to just how deeply the Y.M.C.A. should become involved (with the Economic Opportunity program). It is agreed, however, that we are involved whether we like it or not."

ETHEL W. JACOBS, Director, Program Services, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

"National Travelers Aid has been carrying out a first-of-its-kind experiment with agricultural migrants (in southern New Jersey). A large station wagon, donated by AFL-CIO, has been used to take social services *out to* the labor camps. The wagon, staffed by a trained caseworker, serves as an interviewing room, or for transportation of clients."

MRS. DUDLEY MOORE, Director, Navajo Program, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Inc., Boston, Mass.

The Gallup, New Mexico, Indian Community Center "has been the focus of integration in a heterogeneous community — a meeting ground for Indian, Spanish, Negroes and Anglos . . . a Home away from Home, a bridge between life on the (Indian) reservation and life outside the reservation."

FRANCES RICHARDS, Tribal Judge, Jicarilla Apache Tribe, New Mexico

"It seems that most family problems stem from families where the morale of the parents has disintegrated. My suggestion would be for a women's half-way house or rehabilitation center on the reservation.

"When a woman is sentenced for neglect of her children or excessive use of alcoholic beverages, instead of a jail sentence — which is actually defeating the purpose, because the children must still be cared for by tribal foster homes and the mother is in time released to the same hopeless environment — why not place the mother and children in a rehabilitation center under the direction of persons skilled in teaching homemaking and child care."

RICHARD W. KIRSCHNER, Kirschner Associates, Albuquerque, New Mexico

This organization of management consultants represents a number of Indian tribes, in addition to a number of investment groups.

"One of the problems among many depressed groups is that they are generally overlooked by the investment community . . . We feel we have, and can continue to serve both these groups by helping to create favorable conditions for investment. This approach brings employment and income opportunities to depressed areas and profit opportunities to venturesome capital . . .

"It is our experience that certain of the most needy groups have least opportunity to participate. Symptomatic of today's advanced society is the 'form'. There is a form for everything . . . it does help generally if you know how to read and write when confronted with a form, and many of the people for whom this program is designed can't do either, or if they can, they still aren't able to cope with the technicalities confronting them.

". . . in many instances, the government's relations with recipients of government aid have resulted in an almost habitual friction and mutual mistrust.

"With respect to our own plans, we expect to continue to serve our Indian friends and our investment clients by bringing to each an understanding of the realities of the others' requirements and goals."

MILDRED PREHN, LARK Foundataion (Literacy for Adults and Related Knowledge), Palo Alto, California

"LARK teaches English and basic arithmetic to adults . . . low-level literacy native-born and foreign-speaking would-be citizens, foreign-speaking aspiring citizens with normal cultural level, the unemployed and inadequately employed low-level literate — any adult who wishes to improve his ability to read, write and figure in order to become more adequate as a person, economically and culturally . . .

"Differences are never stressed in LARK; it is accepted that differences exist in everyone . . . The volunteer has learned that 'literacy' and 'wisdom' are not necessarily synonymous . . ."

Jackie Robinson

Speaking to the topic *Republicanism and Poverty*, Jackie Robinson provided one of the more explosive and controversial hours of the poverty conference program. Mr. Robinson, who was the first Negro to break the color barrier in major league baseball, opened his address with the question, "What has the Republican Party done to make an anti-poverty program a necessity? . . . I believe it is common knowledge that wherever a two-party system exists generally those who benefit most are the deprived and minority groups. As I see it, the more party competition there is throughout the land . . . the more can be accomplished to alleviate the conditions of the 'poor'."

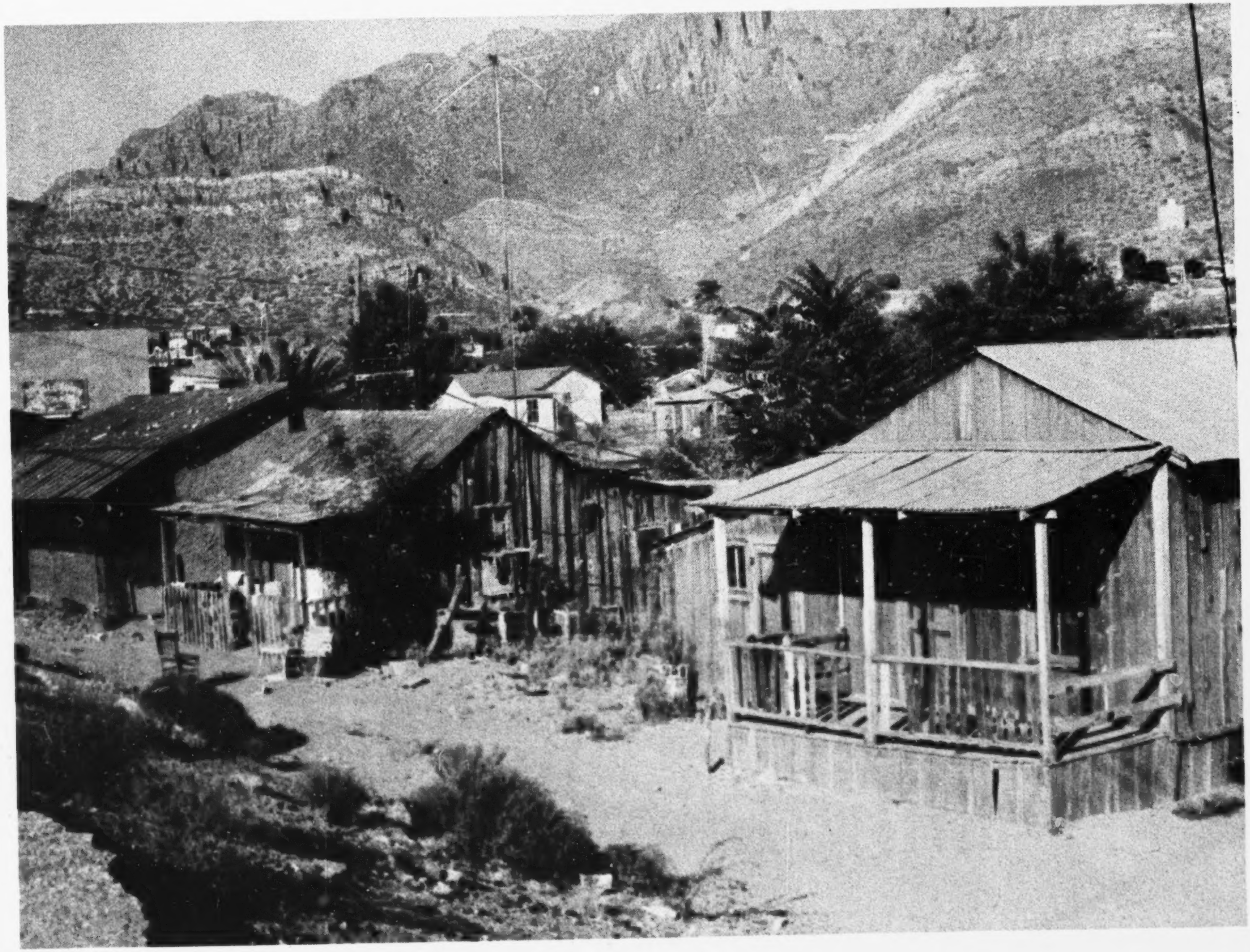
"I shall probably say some things that many of you will not like," he warned his audience. While some of his listeners were offended, as he anticipated, most of the audience warmed to the subject with him as he told them, "I fought Mr. Goldwater not so much because I felt he was suspect on Civil Rights as on the basis that he appeared to me to be lacking in a respect for human rights. I also fought Mr. Goldwater because it seemed to me that he represented a serious and sinister threat to the life, health and strength of the Republican Party."

What had once been called "The Rich Man's Party" had now become a party saddled with poverty of principle, he claimed, and other men too, once rich in principle, had also contributed to the poverty of his party.

Turning to the impoverished of the Southwest, Mr. Robinson said, "I know that there is poverty, not only among the unemployed, but among those who are employed at coolie wages. I am not speaking only of the Negro people when I refer to the disadvantaged in your midst . . . Arizona is the proper place to remind our nation of its unspeakable immorality and its crass cynicism in the treatment of the first American, the Indian. We have never stopped robbing the Indian since we committed the original crimes against him. We have given him tokenist treatment and regarded him as some sort of distant relation who must be satisfied with the dole of charity. We have done the same thing — and you have certainly done it and are doing it here in Arizona — with the Southwestern people of Spanish surnames. We have allowed the ghettoes for these people, for the Negro people, for the Indian people, for the migrant workers, to fester in the abomination of squalor and neglect."

JACKIE ROBINSON

"I am here to tell you," advised Mr. Robinson, who is now President of the Freedom National Bank in New York City, "that America cannot make it up by allowing a Jackie Robinson to achieve. American cannot make it by producing a Ralph Bunche. America cannot make it by pointing to individuals who have managed to achieve and become noted. America can make it only if and when her laws and customs and her everyday practices afford freedom and human dignity and protection of the law, and respect for human personality, to the most obscure and most humble citizen . . . in every one of the fifty states which carry her flag."



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Chapter VIII

The Second Day Continues

Hearing #3

Three concurrent sessions of Hearing #3 continued in the same format as had been used for Hearing #2 in the morning. The three groups heard twenty-nine speakers of the thirty-two who had originally expressed their availability. The witnesses represented twenty-four different organizations, including Federal departments, state, county and city agencies, and public schools, colleges and universities.

E. J. RADASCH, San Juan Basin Technical and Vocational Study,
Mancos, Colorado

Having completed initial feasibility study on the need for vocational training in the Four Corners area, "for the time being, our main effort now is to take this message out — to talk with the great Indian Nations who could ultimately be benefitted by the program . . . We in the Southwest so desperately need this kind of program — skilled training to make them employable men, which in turn will bring about an economic uplifting . . .

"A person in the skilled labor market area may look forward to retraining himself eight times in his lifetime."

VERA M. BURKE, Social Service Department, Bexar County Hospital
District, San Antonio, Texas

"The hospital serves the needs of the medically indigent population of Bexar County . . . where indigency is defined to mean anyone whose income does not exceed $100 for a single individual, $150 for two persons, with $20 additional for each additional dependent, per month.

"We . . . encounter a large group of economically deprived individuals whose illnesses are frequently a result of severe economic deprivation . . . It is easy to see why our hospital wards are filled with children suffering from malnutrition and diarrhea, a disease commonly attributed to underdeveloped countries . . .

"If there is no conscience in the community, professionals can't accomplish much.

"By Texas definition, if he walks and he's warm, he's not considered totally disabled.

"The Ford Foundation study of slums in 1960 found San Antonio second only to Cairo, Egypt.

"We hope under the Economic Opportunity Act to develop a conscience in the community . . . that will not have on its commissioners' board . . . men who come through our emergency room and say, 'Why don't we just cut the blood out of the budget, because we are only spending it to fill the veins of people who stab themselves and shoot themselves in various forays?' "

WILLIAM S. KING, Superintendent, Salt River Indian Agency,
Scottsdale, Arizona

"Any successful housing program (for Indians) must have as its foremost concern the pride of ownership . . . A program must call for a very small financial contribution on the part of the Indian families . . . if you are going to help . . . This must be done in order to stimulate them to help themselves.

"Apparently an answer to the housing needs is some sort of a self-help housing program. This has two fundamental advantages. First, it gives him a basis for individuality for his own home. Second, self-help housing is a new concept in helping him to help himself."

BARNEY OLD COYOTE, U. S. Department of Interior,
Salt Lake City, Utah

"Racial heritage should not be foremost in our minds. Be Americans first, minority group members second . . .

"Don't blame the government for poverty; the Constitution guarantees equal opportunity, not full employment."

PAUL EMMERT, Housing and Home Finance Agency,
Washington, D. C.

"The Housing and Home Finance Agency is responsible for the largest variety of programs in the field of housing in the entire nation . . . Unfortunately, all these programs were created to accomplish specific objectives which did not include the notion of working with institutions or persons that were either impoverished or something less than a Class A credit risk . . . At most the HHFA can help improve the housing of those families with very low incomes whose problems are essentially of an economic nature and which, with proper assistance, conceivably could become manageable . . .

(Low-Income Housing Demonstration Programs) "In Gainesville, Florida, 50 families previously rejected as bad credit risks are being helped to buy homes . . .

"In Tulsa, Oklahoma, 100 families are being moved into single-family dwellings as renters under a lease-purchase plan . . .

"In Washington, D. C., an experimental cooperative housing development for low-income families has been started . . .

"In New Haven, Connecticut, and Washington, D. C., a project has been developed to provide rent supplementation for families which have neither the desire nor the opportunity to become home owners . . ."

HARRY G. WILKINSON, U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional
Rights, Washington, D. C.

"Thousands of citizens are confined each year, not because they are guilty of the commission of a crime, but because they cannot afford to post bond . . .

"The inability to meet bail requirements severely handicaps the accused in the preparation of his defense . . .

"The Federal bail system, as it operates today, is repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution and in direct conflict with the basic tenets that a person is presumed innocent until proven guilty by a court of law, and that justice should be equal and accessible to all."

LAWRENCE GLICK, U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington, D. C.

"Civil rights and poverty are two sides of the same coin. It is very clear that when persons are denied their rights under the Constitution because of membership in an ethnic or racial group, the possibility of escape from poverty is almost nil . . .

"At the Commission we came to the understanding that there could be other factors besides race involved in the denial of equal protection. When we had hearings in Phoenix . . . testimony was presented by members of the Mexican-American community which suggested that they, too, because of their national origin, suffered from deprivation of equal protection of the laws.

"We did not find (in a study on the Mexican-American in the Southwest) . . . that conditions are the same as they are in some parts of the United States — black and white, if I might use that expression — as they are in Mississippi. That's not the case in the Southwest with respect to the Mexican-Americans. The sins are more sins of omission, rather than commission. The Mexican-Americans are largely people who are ignored . . ."

PHILLIP V. HURLEY, Pima County Health Department,
Migrant Project, Tucson, Arizona

"Some of the health deficiencies that we uncovered during the survey and confirmed at its conclusion, were the needs for more immediate immunizations, better prenatal and postnatal care, improvements in diet, and other items of a traditional public health nature. However, the survey also showed many problems related to public health, but whose solution lay in other areas of community responsibility.

"There was reluctance in their use of surplus commodities which might not be those products familiar to them in their dietary pattern. This reluctance is being partially overcome by the nutritionist who developed and compiled new recipes on surplus commodities, cooked as attractive nutritious dishes, using to the extent possible their traditional methods . . .

"Consultations were held with the Arizona Employment Security Commission in the hope that a method could be found to retrain rural agricultural workers into occupations which could alleviate their social and economic disadvantage . . ."

DR. WILLARD ABRAHAM, College of Education, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona

"Do future teachers know, for example: 1) that many poverty children are frustrated and belligerent before entering first grade? 2) that by second grade they often lag behind academically — never catch up? 3) Do they understand how these children think and feel, and attempt to see light through the eyes of these children, their families, and their communities, as no book or lecture or film can do the job? Do they understand that the most important school level for these children is probably the pre-school level — the three, four and five-year-old youngster? . . .

"The second major area of deficiency . . . is related to inappropriate educational materials that are in use in many of our schools today, totally inappropriate for these particular children . . . With the huge new markets being dangled before them by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the proposed education bills, many publishers are dusting off their publication list and sort of hitting the Washington trail. They may try to sell a bill of goods to the men who run the Job Corps camps, that their basic readers are just right for the 16 to 21 year old youths enrolled in them, or if not, a touch of color or a word here or there changed may do the job . . ."

CHARLES BOYLE, Arizona State Employment Service, Phoenix, Arizona

"Essentially the public employment service system in days past has concerned itself with the preventive phases of poverty . . . that is, it has attempted to put an unemployed worker back to work, and as quickly as possible, to utilize their skills and their motivations and their abilities, and to utilize these human factors before they were included in this group of people that we refer to as poverty-stricken.

"The Employment Service did not have a charter or a mandate literally to seek out and dip into these pockets of poverty as we refer to them now. This was not our job. We were concerned with selecting people, the best qualified persons, and refer them to a job that was open; and it had nothing to do with the bankbook or lack of bankbook of the worker. We were not concerned with that.

"But with the advent of the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Economic Opportunity Act, and probably other legislation, our character is changing . . . We are going to have, for example, youth opportunity centers. These are designed to reach into the depth of the community . . . This is a new aspect and a new career for us."

O. L. BUCHANAN, Roosevelt Elementary School District, Phoenix, Arizona

"Roosevelt District is the fourth largest elementary district in Maricopa County, with the highest total tax rate ($12.91) and the lowest taxable wealth ratio per pupil . . . Classroom space has been at a premium for at least twenty years, with large numbers of pupils attending part-time (double sessions) . . .

"A large number of the pupils from the 'fringe' area served by the Roosevelt District schools may be classified as economically underprivileged. This number is approximately 50% on a District enrollment basis, and for some attendance areas reaches 90% or more. The pupils from these families suffer a great deal of failure in our schools. They are not less intelligent nor less educable, but their cultural differences have left them ill-prepared for the instructional program offered by the District. They often exhibit reactions of fear, frustrating anger, inferiority and lack of motivation. These reactions can very early lead to habits of failure and low achievement, which contribute to an inefficient teaching-learning climate."

ANNE L. GOULD, U. S. Department of Commerce, Area Redevelopment Administration, Washington, D. C.

"The Area Redevelopment Administration program is a community-based program. The community must want to participate and must organize to do so . . . About 1100 areas have been declared eligible, and to date about 1000 have fulfilled the legal requirement of community organization...

"Important as economic development and growth are . . . training and retraining of the unemployed are absolutely essential if the present unemployed or underemployed are to be given a chance at new or existing jobs. There are thousands of instances around the country where unfilled jobs and unemployed reside unhappily near each other. Training is the bridge that can bring unemployed and jobs together — but training must be geared to the needs of the unemployed as well as the jobs.

"In the last three years, ARA's training program has approved about 900 projects for approximately 40,000 trainees. Over 70% of those who completed training have been placed. Our experience has proven that anyone can be taught a skill, that no one who wants a job or desires to learn a trade is unemployable . . .

"Among these unemployed who have been made employable and self-supporting are Indians on reservations; Spanish-speaking Americans who do not speak English; unemployed who were illiterates and for whom basic reading and writing had to be included with vocational skills; migratory workers whose sole work experience was harvesting, but who nevertheless were taught to handle machinery so that they could get year-round employment . . ."

FLORENCE WYCKOFF, Governor's Committee on Children and Youth, Sacramento, California

"The seasonal farm worker is part of a chaotic, confused, unstructured labor situation in which he is usually employed less than half-time and partly due to the nature of agriculture, forced to travel following the sun, for long distances at his own expense . . . The non-resident farm worker and his children find themselves desperately wanted for a short period, but feel outside the community and often unwelcome as soon as their services are no longer required . . .

"In 1959 the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth . . . finally decided to see if some progress could be made by bringing together all the principal parties concerned to spend some time around the table in a problem-solving effort . . . So the 'Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops' was established . . .

"Each year at the final Plenary Session of the Conference everyone is asked to fill out an evaluation sheet . . . The majority appear to find some value to themselves in attending. Both farmers and farm workers demonstrate this by appearing again and again, year after year. Attitudes have been modified; for example, one worker said, 'Well, I have found out that the grower isn't a monster, and he has found out that I am not a wino.' "

Father Vizzard presided as chairman at Hearing #3A, being held in the Tucson Music Center. Employing the prerogative of the chair, he addressed some remarks to the audience, occasioned by the failure of the scheduled representative of the Texas Employment Commission to appear. "Is anyone here representing the Texas Employment Commission? I'm sorry there isn't, because that's one of the major targets I was aiming at. I'll tell you why — because I think this ought to be on the record."

"The employment services of the various states," he continued, "among their many responsibilities, are commissioned by the United States Department of Labor to conduct certain activities that come under Federal law. One of these activities has been the farm labor placement service . . . I can say that in farm labor placement, most state employment services have been simply a tool or an ally of the employer and in no way could they have been regarded as a friend and assistant to the worker. I think that someone with deep concern for the fulfillment of the intent of the law and for the protection of human decencies and justice might well make an investigation into the operation of the state employment services, particularly in California, Arizona and Texas."

The O. E. O. Answers Questions

On the mornings of January 25 and January 26, steam table buffet breakfasts were arranged for those who wished to hear discussion and explanations by representatives from the Office of Economic Opportunity, responsible for each facet of the Economic Opportunity Act. Questions from the audience were also to be heard at an evening meal scheduled for January 26.

Both breakfasts were greatly over-attended, indicating a high degree of interest in the government's anti-poverty program. On Tuesday evening, a rather expensive meal reduced the number of diners who attended the closing supper. However, many persons came after coffee and peppered the O. E. O. representatives with both personalized and regionally significant questions.

Conference Wind-Up

At a final plenary session, four Southwestern leaders representng the four major ethnic groups presented brief summary remarks prior to the adjournment of the formal conference.

ROBERT P. SANCHEZ

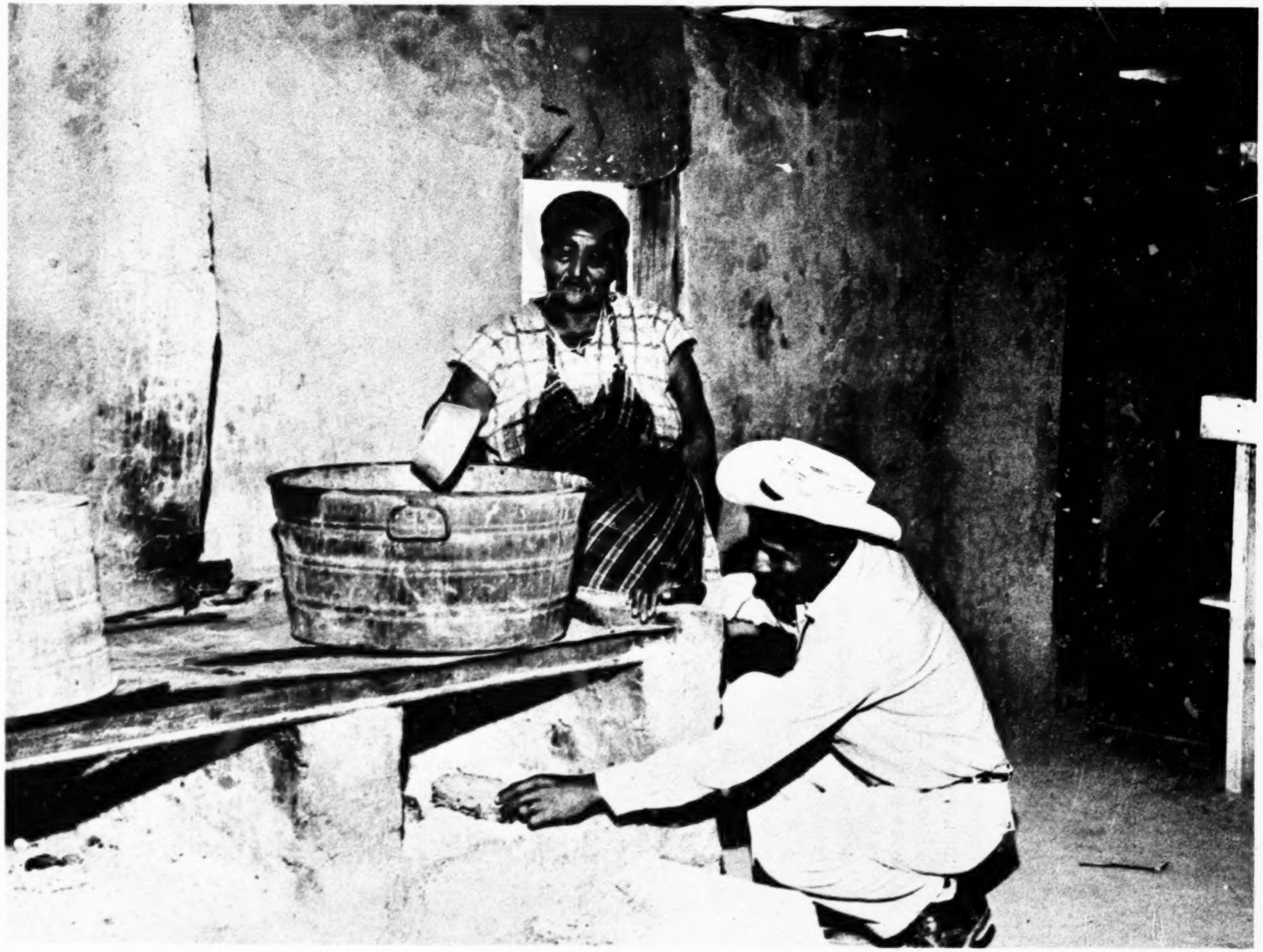
Robert P. Sanchez, attorney from McAllen, Texas, told the group that "job discrimination is the worst kind of discrimination, because it hits at the foundation of family life." Commenting on recent public opinion polls, he said that they are now showing a larger percentage of people who think that the government's anti-poverty program might accomplish something than had held that opinion several months previously.

Dr. William Fowler, who had spoken on the previous day following Sargent Shriver's address, exhorted his listeners to "put down your feelings of differences and pick up your feelings of sameness."

Lester Oliver, of the White Mountain Apache Tribe, reminded the group that "the key to the success of any program is the intent of the people involved in it." Then, to the relieved amusement of an audience that had been sitting through two intensive days of testimony and speeches, he said, "The Indian man used to hunt and fish, while the women worked. Then the white man came, and tried to improve on a situation like that!" "We must learn to trust each other," he told them in conclusion.

HERRICK ROTH

Herrick Roth, labor leader from Denver, Colorado, who had also spoken on the preceeding day, observed that it was time for the power structure — the bankers and labor — to enter the field of fighting poverty. He recommended the formation of a five-state project which he called SWEEP — Southwest Enterprises to End Poverty.



Chapter IX

Impressions and Conclusions

An evaluation of a conference as controversial as this one would obviously vary from person to person among those who attended. The great desire by many to be heard, the frustrations of having to compete with an unexpectedly large crowd, the presence of many prima donnas who felt left out of the conference limelight contributed to the many caucuses that were held in Tucson on January 25 anad 26. The conservative press, hostile to the idea of waging war on poverty, sought out and publicized the dissident voices as though they were the only voices. In total, the Arizona press coverage was good. But the editorializing performed by some reporters who were discovering for the first time the turmoil connected with unmet social problems led to some articles of less than a constructive nature.

Included in this chapter are excerpts of impressions and conclusions expressed by one of the national chairmen, the Conference coordinator, a staff coordinator, a representative of the National Council of Churches, one of the witnesses, some newspaper commentators, and, finally, a statement of conscience, issued several weeks after the conference, representing a concensus reaction by the panelists.

FATHER JAMES VIZZARD, SJ:

"The first fact which strikes me as being of some importance is that some fifty-three national organizations and hundreds of their regional and local affiliates united in a common cause, i.e., exposing to the nation's and the region's view the extent and depth of poverty in an area otherwise characterized by great prosperity . . . Church leaders, union and farm officials, delegates from civic, welfare and service organizations, scholars, authors and politicians mingled in this "no protocol" Conference with hundreds of representatives of the ethnic minorities of the Southwest. In terms of numbers alone and the variety of participants, the Conference could be called a notable success . . .

"Most people would agree, I believe, that the highlight, the unique feature of the Conference, was the vivid, detailed and often poignant picture of poverty portrayed in the faces and voices and statements of the poor themselves . . . If there was one common characteristic of all these witnesses to poverty, it was the incredible tenacity with which they have struggled against almost insuperable odds. It was a strange and moving experience to see how these people, battered by harsh and inhuman circumstances, have retained an essential dignity and an unconquerable hope that given opportunity they could make it on their own. They all made it quite evident that they were looking for a hand and not a handout.

"The rest of us were shamed that even our handouts to meet the most immediate and urgent needs of the poor have been so meager, given so reluctantly and with so little consideration for the feelings and personal dignity of the recipients. All of us, I believe, left Tucson convinced that no matter what it costs, this nation can afford and must pay the price not only for alleviating the effects of poverty but also for eliminating its causes . . .

"Certainly another valuable contribution of the Conference was the opportunity given to representatives of private agencies to share with the audience their experiences, their successes, their failures in their greatly varied programs for combating poverty. It became evident that long before the nation officially declared war on poverty, great numbers of concerned individuals and organizations were in the field doing courageous battle against this age-old enemy. But it also became evident that almost everywhere these efforts have been scattered, inadequate, and largely ineffective. In too many cases, the good will and resources have been dissipated through dealing primarily with the effects rather than the causes of poverty . . .

"Moreover, it became apparent that in most areas of the Southwest, the 'power structures' met these well-intentioned private efforts with inertia, lack of cooperation, or downright opposition. It had been no mere whim on the part of the Conference planners to locate this meeting in the Southwest. Their assumption was amply verified that throughout this vast area leaders at all levels have been reluctant to admit the extent and depth of poverty in their midst and thus killed any stirring of conscience which might have moved them to make adequate steps to overcome it.

"Another measure, therefore, of the value of this Conference might be its exposure of how little local and state public agencies had to report . . . Although there were a few bright spots in this dismal picture and although a few public agencies are making honest and effective efforts, for the most part the organs of government in the Southwest are geared almost exclusively to the views and the interests of the affluent . . .

"When the Conference moved out of Tucson we left behind at least some enlightened minds and disturbed consciences. We did succeed in stripping away the facade of unbroken prosperity and exposed the grinding poverty and racial discrimination which afflicts so many millions of the region's people. We did help to bring to the forefront some indigenous leadership, private agencies, and government officials from whom much can be hoped in the future. We provided a platform for already-existing federal agencies to explain how their programs can help and did afford their administrators an opportunity to meet hundreds of regional leaders whose cooperation and understanding will be essential if the programs are to be a success in this area . . .

"Lest this report suggest that the Conference went off without any hitches, let me say that, in retrospect and in all honesty, we made just about every mistake in the book. We allowed ourselves too little time for planning and preparation. We failed to discover and utilize all the authentic indigenous leadership. We never figured out how best to involve the national sponsors. We invited too many witnesses and our selection of those to be heard was somewhat haphazard and perhaps not always representative. We failed to envision the swarms of people who, largely at the last moment, demanded the opportunity to participate and to be heard . . .

"In conclusion then, I think the Conference was a success despite our shortcomings and mistakes. I think we accomplished the objectives of the meeting. I know we learned much which will be valuable if we undertake another effort like this in the future."

HENRY A. TALBERT, Western Regional Director, National Urban League; coordinator of Negro participation, National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest:

" . . . The original American — the Indian — was present and firmly rejected the idea that parts of his culture could be submerged under a 'common' outlook on problems of the poor. Similar convictions — expressed more in terms of language differences — came from the Spanish-speaking groups. With Mexico so near, many felt some allegiance to the traditions of their native land. They are 'in' but not necesarily 'of' the present culture in which they live.

"Striking, also, was the realization that united efforts — typical of some aspects of the Negro social revolution — do not yet characterize the approaches to problem-solving by the majority of non-Negro minorities in the Southwest. A uniform note of protest has not been mounted by the Indians or Spanish-speaking persons. Consequently, the pressure so apparent in other parts of the United States seems of little significance to those who represent the 'grass roots.' . . . Finally, the pattern of social welfare services so clearly drawn by Eastern and Northern voluntary agencies is not nearly so clearly defined nor as extensive in the Southwest . . .

"It is important to note, then, that as this Conference focused the nation's spotlight upon this part of society, it also pointed a sobering finger of responsibility upon those who represented the public and voluntary services in human welfare. No single formula for reaching solutions was suggested nor even expected; multi-faceted problems require a variety of solutions. Nor was it a matter of public *or* voluntary services. Both were cited as having much to offer. If any one point stood out . . . it was that most visible minorities in the Southwest suffer the fate of the poor; differences are brought about by internal factors such as language, culture and self help measures generated within one of the sub-groups . . .

"Unwilling to take all of the blame for their failure in society, they (the poor) look to the 'haves' to provide some guidance, not charity . . .

It is up to us to follow a procedure of communicating with members of the disadvantaged groups, looking at the problems through their eyes, discarding previous stereotyped notions about what is best for them, seeking out resources — in abundance — that can be fashioned by them for their own use in moving out of the poverty pit . . ."

WILLIAM E. SCHOLES, Western Field Representative, National Council of Churches:

"There was obviously a variety of reasons for attendance among the more than 2,000 people present. Some attended because they expected to receive technical assistance with reference to 'Economic Opportunity' grants for their own community. Most of these people were disappointed. Others anticipated they could learn much of the character and spread of poverty in the Southwest. These people were happy with the conference, for the hearings which were held gave opportunity for private citizens to tell their story . . . The panelists who heard this testimony . . . also heard the views of private organizations and public agencies who added much to the total of basic information descriptive of poverty concerns in the Southwest. Therefore, those who were curious that information on poverty be gathered and vocalized were happy with the meeting.

"Of course, there were also those who were less happy. The Indian people present felt the stress was all on the difficulties faced by the Spanish-speaking and the Negro. The Negro felt the stress was on the interests of the Spanish-speaking and the Indian . . .

"Those of the planning group who saw this Conference as a stage to focus the spotlight on the great pockets of poverty in the Southwest, which they felt had not received enough attention previously against the backdrop of the urban south and Appalachia, were satisfied that its purpose had been fulfilled . . ."

GLADWIN HILL, "Help — Without Condescension", *Frontier,* March, 1965

"Superficially the conference had earmarks of standard social-service talkfests. The patio of Tucson's Music Center was crowded with tables laden with literature from a hundred agencies about do-good accomplishments and aspirations. Be-badged delegates from governmental, labor, religious and welfare organizations shook hands and chatted with the familiar unction of the social-service priesthood.

"But Phoenix's Robert B. Choate, Jr., who coordinated some fifty organizations' sponsorship of the conference, had been determined to head off the cliches at Eagle Pass, somewhere north of Tucson. Much of the organizing effort and money ($39,000 for Uncle Sam) was devoted to marshalling some legitimate spokesmen for the underprivileged, and the conference was focused on listening to them."

PHOENIX GAZETTE, January 27, 1965

"The first National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest has ended with criticism from some minority and union leaders for alleged failure to discuss their problems. But other leaders among the 2,200 delegates said they had benefitted . . .

"Roy Cooksey of Tucson, President of the Arizona chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, backed by ten other Negro leaders, charged the conference avoided issues by not allowing 'main causes of poverty in the Negro community to come into focus.'

"Another Negro leader said that the conference should have been made aware that Negroes are barred from many labor unions, and hence, from jobs in Arizona and California . . .

"A Colorado labor leader said the conference was weak because it didn't have adequate representation from labor and finance.

"Lee Emerson, a spokesman for four Indian Tribes, said he had heard ways to assist Mexican-Americans and Negroes, but that these didn't apply to Indians.

"However, Robert Sanchez, a national representative of the G. I. Forum, lauded the conference, saying: 'We have made history in these two days. Even those of us who work with poverty day by day have learned something.' "

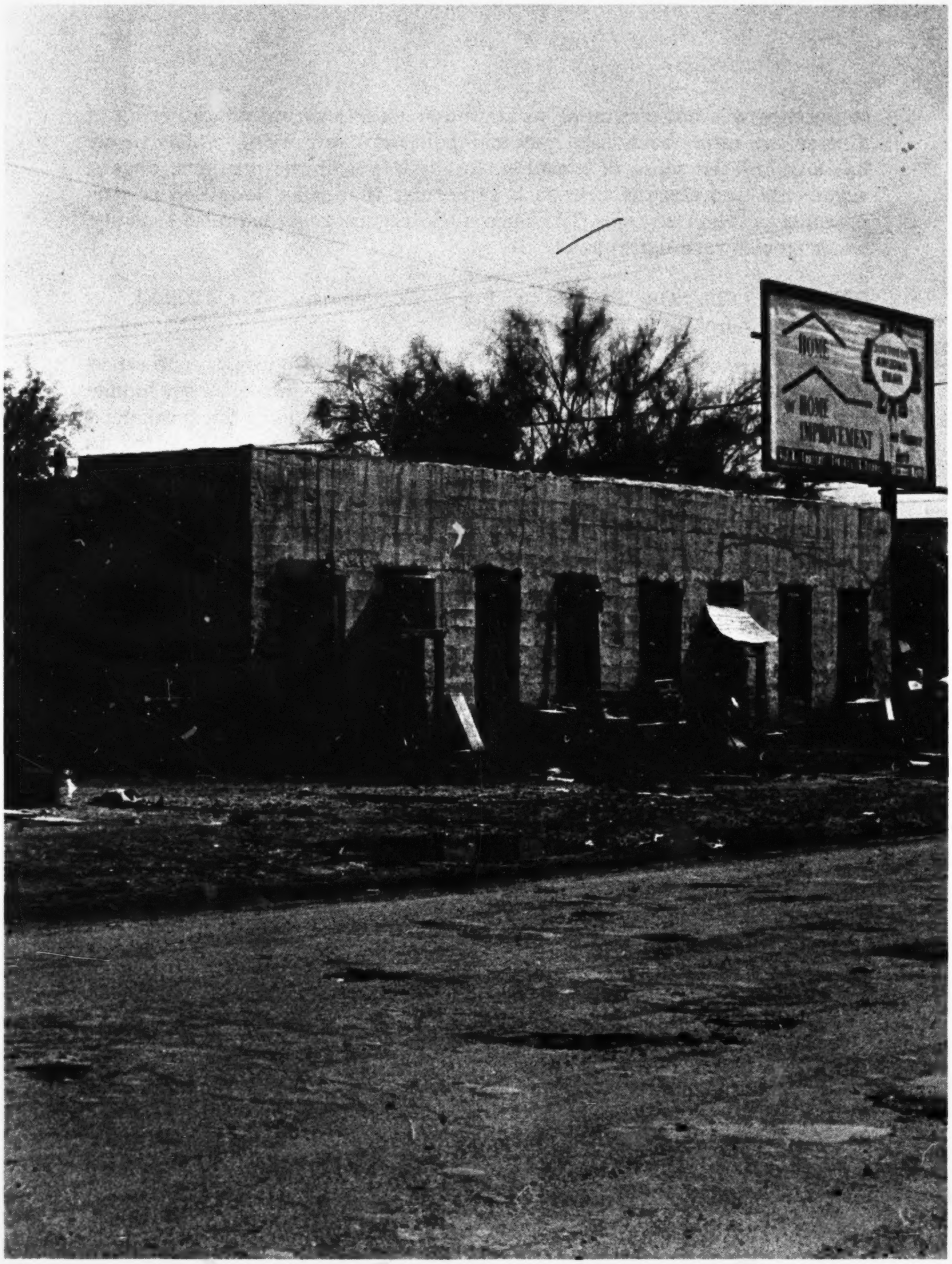
FLORENCE WYCKOFF, Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, Sacramento, California

". . . You did a bold and imaginative thing when you broke away from the tired old traditions of Conference-giving. Even though I was told that you made a lot of Arizona bureaucrats mad, and shook up the federal establishment somewhat, the participants and the observers who came from the public and private agencies really gained a lot of new insight long needed and sadly lacking in the past. You made a dent on the rhinoceros hide of the status quo — for a moment . . ."

ROBERT W. GLASGOW, *Arizona Republic,* Phoenix, Arizona, January 31, 1965

"The broad aims of the conference were to call attention to the nature of poverty in the Southwest, to disseminate among both conference participants and the community at large some understanding of the Economic Opportunity Act, to stimulate community groups to formulate anti-poverty projects and make application for funds.

"Within the context of these aims, the conference was a success. To the extent that the conferees and the general community expected more, the


HOME
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IMPROVEMENT

conference was not dissimilar to any other loosely organized gathering of diverse interests (such as a national political convention) which rarely has any ordered sense of meaning. But it is out of the conflicts, angers, arguments, and discussion in such gatherings that some definition of purpose and problem emerges. The Tucson conference, regarded most sensibly, was a step toward definition."

PAUL JACOBS, "Our Friends the Poor", *Commonweal,* Vol. LXXXI, No. 23, March 5, 1965

"On January 25, the first day of a two-day anti-poverty conference, Robert B. Choate, Jr., of Phoenix, the conference organizer, stood, hidden from the audience by a pillar, waving his arm in a circle at the speaker on the platform in the gesture radio and television producers use to speed up a performance. It was an apt gesture, too, for the entire emphasis of the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest was directed primarily towards the television cameras that pointed at the platform . . .

"It was the clock and not the content of what the people said that determined how long they talked, for this conference was organized so efficiently and so tightly that if you bent down to tie a shoelace you were likely to never get quite caught up again with what was happening . . .

"The conference organizers displayed, despite their good will, a characteristic paternalism toward the poor in small gestures like giving them meal chits instead of money, and, more importantly, in the substantive design of the program. The poor were put on display at the conference. Their appearance was designed to be the smash first-act curtain number of the whole production . . . The ones who spoke, most of them movingly, of the conditions under which they live, had been carefully screened first. They had to write out the speech in advance, or at least make a tape recording of it, so that the conference organizers could select those poor people whose stories would have the most appeal and could make that appeal the most effectively . . ."

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER, Washington, D.C., February 1, 1965

". . . Yet there are answers, and some of these are implicit in the fact that 2,200 Americans were concerned enough to attend a conference on poverty in the Southwest. 'This kind of conference could not have been held here a year ago,' remarked Dr. Paul O'Rourke, who is director of California's anti-poverty program. 'Even if it had been held, no one would have thought to ask the poor, and if they had come, they would have been afraid to talk frankly.'

"To be sure, there were shortcomings in the conference. For one thing, neither important elements of the economic power of the Southwest nor the opinion makers were represented, and their support is crucial to eliminating poverty. Too, there was little communication among ethnic groups. Negroes clustered together, as did Spanish(-speaking)-Americans, and Indians. Spokesmen for each ethnic group complained that the other groups dominated the conference."

CARTA EDITORIAL, Los Angeles, California, February 8, 1965

" . . . The material presented throughout the conference was extremely interesting and stimulating, but probably never have so many articulate people been so heavily stimulated and at the same time so completely prevented from reacting to the stimuli. In fact, it seemed at times almost like an exercise in planned frustration . . .

"But the major result was highly positive. The spotlight was thrown on the deep-going poverty in the forgotten Southwest, and it will be difficult to remove it from that sore for a long time to come."

JAMES COOK, *Arizona Republic,* Phoenix, Arizona, January 30, 1965

"The chaotic meeting this week in Tucson generated many complaints about the way it was managed, and suspicions about what it accomplished...

"Few of the impoverished who attended came with their hands out. Most asked for a program, or a change in existing programs, that would enable them to work their way out of poverty, to compete in the economic world.

"Nearly everyone had a different idea of how the conference should have been run, and many were quite vocal.

"The most common complaint was that the conference sponsors invited the poor, then neglected to listen to them . . .

"Many ignored the fact that without such names as Humphrey, Shriver and Jackie Robinson, the conference would not have drawn the 2,000-plus persons who participated. They also ignored the fact that it was physically impossible for 2,000 tales of woe, many repetitious, to be heard in two days."

ROBERT B. CHOATE, JR., Conference Coordinator

"The principal decision-making centers of the United States are in the Northeast — in Washington, New York, and perhaps Chicago. That the influential areas of the country should be so uninformed about the Southwest in this day of mass communication seemed regrettable to those who called together the National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest. The nation knows much of Birmingham and Appalachia, but little of Albuquerque and Phoenix. The Negro problems of the Southeast are amply reported to the nation, but how little is known of the discrimination faced by Mexican-Americans, the unemployment suffered by Indians, and the abject poverty of California's migrant farm workers!

"The National Conference was called to overcome this ignorance and lack of awareness. It was to portray the character and extent of poverty in this immense area that individuals and representatives of groups were invited to speak before panelists. It was to expose the reluctance of the affluent to recognize their local problems; it was to demonstrate the lack of cooperation between the identifiable groups that a variety of spokesmen were sought. The middle-class orientation of most of the private agencies, and the lack of communication between agencies and the people they were supposed to serve were expected to reveal themselves; and the expectation proved accurate.

"The nation learned much during those days in January. Congressmen, federal agencies and national newsmen learned what many others present already knew — that this is a unique region of the country, where the Negro, the Indian, the Mexican-American and the Anglo farm worker compete for the bottom rung on the economic ladder. Spokesmen uttered words in anger, witnesses exhibited frustration over inadequate attention to their problems; but that was to be expected. Never before had this Southwestern region so openly exhibited its deficiencies, its problems, its sores. Rarely before had deprived groups had an open forum for their grievances.

"The extent to which this was news in the country may be judged by more than seventy-five square feet of newspaper clippings, reporting on the Conference in the press of 38 states. National television also reported extensively on the conference and its witnesses.

"The conference was an exercise in public confessions. It was a platform from which to awaken a nation. And, as such, it succeeded in its goals."

A CALL TO NATIONAL CONSCIENCE

The undersigned were invited to sit as a "jury" while spokesmen for the poor and representatives of both private and public agencies aired their views on the causes of and cures for poverty in the vast area of the American Southwest. The speakers had assembled at the recent National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest — and their testimony dramatically underscored the delinquency of leadership in and for this area.

The Nature of Southwestern Poverty

We were convinced by the testimony presented there that poverty in the Southwest has characteristics that are unique in the national American scene. The great distances in the Southwest and the economic expansion attendant on two decades of postwar prosperity and population explosion mask poverty in the rural areas, in the cities, in the mountains, and in the desert. The economic expansion of these decades has given few benefits to the poor. In New Mexico an Indian lives on a reservation on less than $400 a year, speaking little English, growing up in a culture that never developed concepts of competition, baffled by the white man's world of aggression and materialism. In Texas a Mexican American family of twelve subsists on a diet consisting principally of beans and corn, trying to maintain a marginal existence on the fringe of an affluent but hostile society.

We were told of the poverty of hope for the white "Anglo" migrant farm worker who, systematically and deliberately exploited by the big agricultural growers, ekes out a family existence on $1100 a year. He tries vainly to understand why a nation permits — in fact, invites — foreign laborers to compete under deliberately favored conditions. California growers were described as consistently preferring Mexican "bracero" labor.

We heard of the poverty of education and opportunity haunting the Arizona Negro who assumed he was escaping discrimination and inadequate schooling in the Southeast, only to encounter them again under more hypocritical circumstances in an area which exhorts its citizens to "stand on their own two feet."

Poverty in the Southwest is represented by some of the nation's most abysmal housing, and it is perpetuated by an educational system that makes no provision for the special needs of its different ethnic populations. For in the Southwest, as elsewhere in the country, the most acutely impoverished are the ethnic minorities. They include 3.5 million Spanish-surnamed people whose backgrounds may be a blend of Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and Latin-American origins; seeking identity among the recently arrived "Anglos," these people find themselves regarded as aliens. Of the area's 2.2 million Negroes, only those in California have found anything of the better life they sought when leaving the "old South", and even there this "better life" consists largely of better ghettoes and slowly improving education for equal job opportunities. The Southwest includes some 200,000 Indians of varied tribes, nations, and reservations who are shuttled back and forth from rural to urban life by a confusing series of Federal policies.

Several Southwestern cities have trebled in size in the historic population explosion of the past two decades. But Southwestern civic and community leaders have ignored the fact that this population growth would necessitate prevention action against the multiplying economic and social problems confronting the region. And so the same civic leaders have neglected the aggressive social improvisations which the development of a modern, urbanized society makes imperative.

With the spread of technology and the growth of business and industry, the original occupant of the Southwest, still rooted in his native and different culture, has been completely left behind. Educationally unprepared for the technical complexity of modern America, barred by racial, social, and economic discrimination from participation in this very society to which they belong, the poor of the Southwest remain overlooked, unwanted, and ignored — by the Southwest and by the Nation.

The Attitudes

The testifiers at the conference in Tucson revealed conflicts, distrust, and intense competition between the relatively prepard "Anglos" on the one hand and the severely disadvantaged Indian, Negro, and Spanish-surnamed citizens on the other. This situation, aggravated by the widespread apathy of the responsible members of the power structure toward the problem of poverty, seems to us to portend serious social disorders in the future unless extensive social reforms occur. Here, in a five-state population of 30 million, are over eight million living on annual family incomes of less than $3000. Possibly only the ethnic insularities and mutual distrusts of the minority groups have so far prevented the coalescence of thought and action necessary to force social reform.

Apparently a Southwestern power elite of mining, oil, cattle, real estate, and agricultural interests tends to sweep social problems under the rug. Testimony indicates that the weight of this elite is arrayed against the economic and political weakness of minority groups and of the poor generally. The press, with certain exceptions, reflects the views of the elite and reinforces its dominance. The press also exhibits a persistent suspicion of social causes and the people involved in them, thus promoting a regional antagonism to coordinated family assistance, suspicion of private philanthropy for social causes, and resistance to public planning. It proclaims that social planning properly resides in the private sector, but it supports only minor endeavors by private agencies. These factors may account for the apparent indifference of private agency directors toward much-needed private and public social reforms. They may also account for the fact that welfare administrators seem to thwart the will of the Congress and of the nation through welfare policies that, even charitably, can only be described as inhuman.

Regional Influences

Poverty in the Southwest differs from poverty in other parts of the nation because the Southwest itself is different. A major factor of this difference is the existence of a 1500-mile border shared with a nation whose economic standards are thirty years behind ours — a border far more open than most Americans realize. As many as 3000 immigrants per month enter to become permanent residents. More than 30,000 commuters swarm across the border on a regular basis to work at wages which, while sub-standard for the United States, make them comparatively well-paid residents of Mexico. Many employers, particularly agricultural growers, profit handsomely from this cheap source of labor. This foreign labor force, willing to work at 60-90 cents an hour, depresses the Southwestern economy which is already suffering from growing automation and excess job applicants.

The relative openness of the border has created another problem — that of "semi-citizens," Mexicans who have lived in the Southwestern states, particularly Texas, for decades. For various reasons they have not become citizens. Many of them have now lost track of the personal papers or witnesses who could establish the vital statistics pre-requisite for citizenship applications. Many are old and incredibly poor. Lacking citizenship, they are ineligible for most public welfare or any kind of assistance . . . except charity. They have no homes to return to in Mexico; in this country their lot is a form of aged peonage.

We come then to some suggestion, both general and specific, for attacking poverty in the Southwest. National attention to this region is obviously overdue.

Suggestions

First, the openness of our international border must be reviewed. Steps must be taken to regulate and reduce the flow of "border commuters." Congress must enact appropriate legislation and the State Department must effect international wage agreements with Mexico. The Labor Department needs its administrative hand strengthened so that it can halt commuters when there is a demonstrable adverse effect on the United States labor force. State—and, where necessary, federal—legislation is needed to apply fair labor standards to the international worker as well as our own citizens. For poverty in the Southwest cannot be separated from poverty in Mexico while the international border remains no more than an inconvenience to commuters. The problem is international in scope and should be approached internationally, even to the extent of contemplating some kind of specific joint Mexico-U.S. aid to northern Mexico and establishing a minimum wage to the Mexican citizens' service here. It is not enough to treat the symptoms. We must endeavor also to cure or at least ameliorate the sickness, which, in this case, is the perpetual depression that exists in the north of Mexico and spreads into our vulnerable Southwest.

We urge that public welfare agencies, instead of wasting dollars trying to ferret out chiselers, apply that energy and more to rehabilitating the poor and reducing their dependency. The federal government must insure that the will of Congress is honored, particularly in Texas and Arizona.

We call upon the Southwestern agricultural states, notably California, Arizona and Texas, to bring farm workers under the protective canopy of state labor laws. These should include minimum wage laws, laws securing workers in their rights to organize, laws against discrimination and the like.

We urge grower participation in conquering the age-old problems of seasonal crops and wages while laborers have year-round family needs. We advocate total abandonment of the "Bracero" immigrant labor concept. We request an interstate study of education for those to whom English may be the foreign or second language.

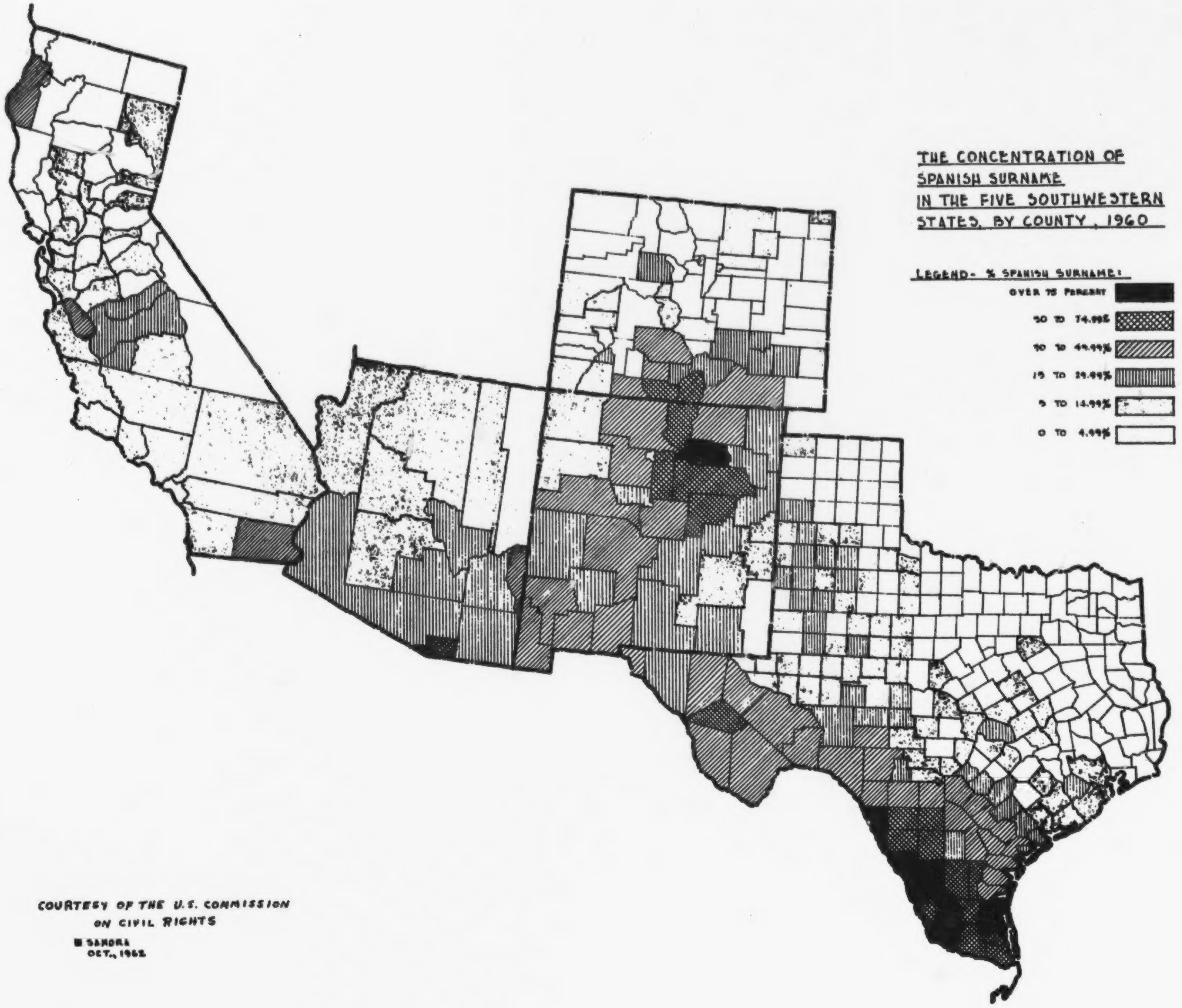
We appeal to the states of the Southwest to reduce the varying harsh residence requirements for old age assistance eligibility and to achieve some uniformity in their welfare and other assistance programs.

Perhaps most important of all, we plead for a new regional attitude toward social programming not only for, but *subject* to the ideas of the less fortunate. Perhaps a privately funded regional entity should be created to give voice to the impoverished. The various social agencies of the Southwest both public and private — agencies concerned with health, family planning, education, preparation for employer, and housing — must abandon their aloofness and yield a major portion of their planning and decision-making process to the disadvantaged themselves. United Funds, Community Councils, and other similar organizations should concentrate most of their time, funds, and attention on the problems of the poor, and, as they do so, involve these same poor at the highest levels of policy-making. We believe that a show of patience with the neophyte social planner from depressed areas will produce unheard-of dividends. It is not now being done.

Finally, there should be national respect for the cultural differences of the great Southwest. As one of the participants at the Tucson poverty conference so eloquently stated: "We have given too little awareness to the history of this land which has made us so affluent. In our haste we tend to equate material poverty with spiritual and cultural poverty . . . The 'Anglo' must realize that many who are poor in the Southwest have rich and priceless traditions — a cultural kind of affluence which *we* need badly to share. As we undertake to rid the Southwest of poverty . . . we'll be working in a land of great beauty among peoples of great beauty. We must be sure that our efforts in no way erode the great gifts of diversity which we enjoy here — diversity of language, art, dance, ceremony, religion. And the 'Anglo' perhaps must learn better to place himself properly in the history of this region — the last to arrive here, — in a sense, the newcomer. We owe to ourselves the obligations *not* to try to overcome differences but to preserve and honor diversity. For the 'Anglo' affluence itself badly needs the cultural enrichment of the ancient peoples of the Southwest."

Respectfully submitted:

Leonard Duhl, M.D.
Mr. David Danzig
Mrs. Grace Montanez Davis
Mr. D'Arcy McNickle
Dr. Laurence Gould
Mr. Henry Saltzman
Paul O'Rourke, M.D.
Mr. Steve Allen
Mr. Henry Talbert
Dr. Julian Samora
Mr. Bernard Valdez



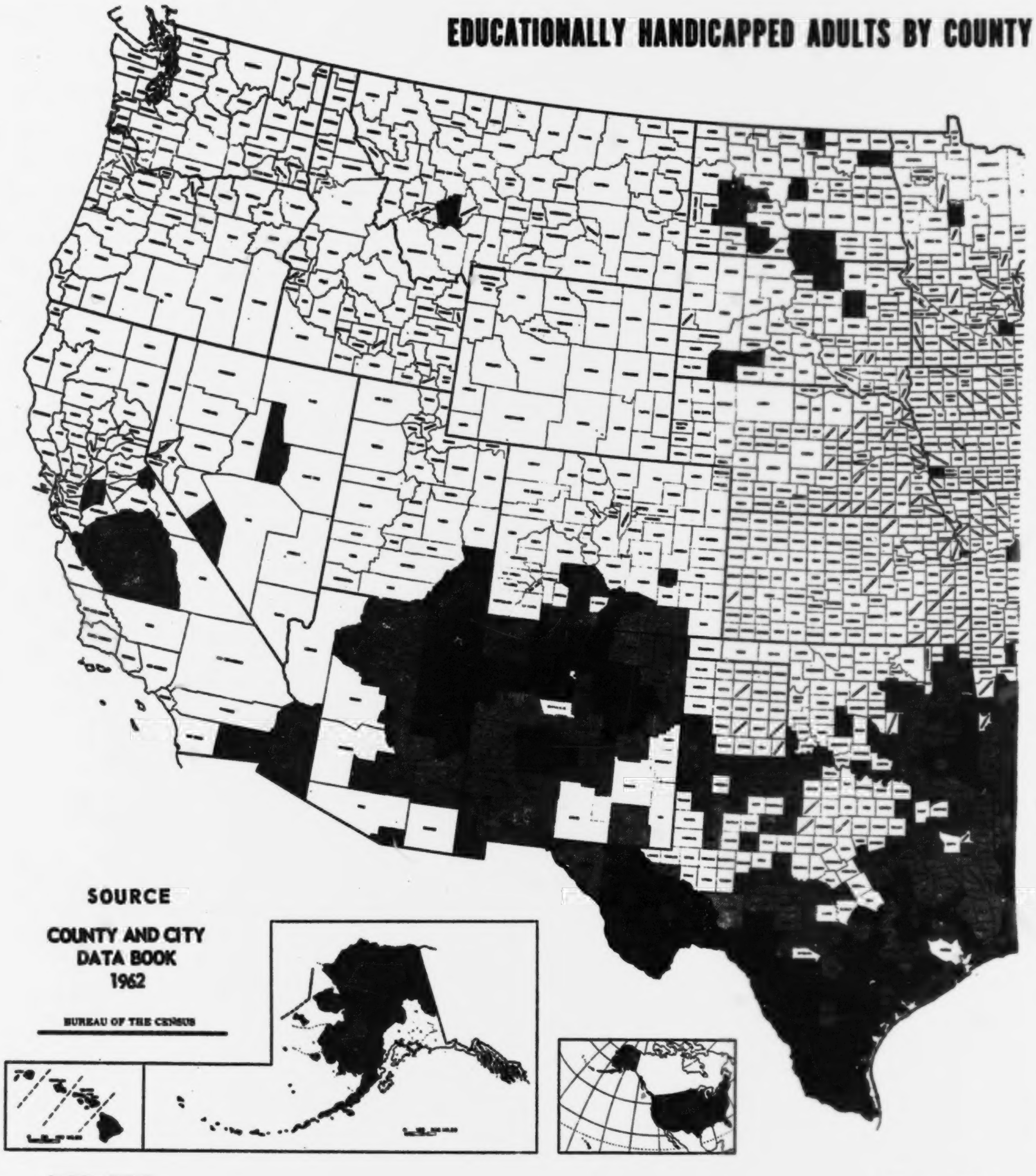
THE CONCENTRATION OF SPANISH SURNAME IN THE FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, BY COUNTY, 1960

LEGEND- % SPANISH SURNAME:
OVER 75 PERCENT
50 TO 74.99%
30 TO 49.99%
15 TO 29.99%
5 TO 14.99%
0 TO 4.99%

COURTESY OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SAMORA
OCT., 1962

EDUCATIONALLY HANDICAPPED ADULTS BY COUNTY



SOURCE

COUNTY AND CITY
DATA BOOK
1962

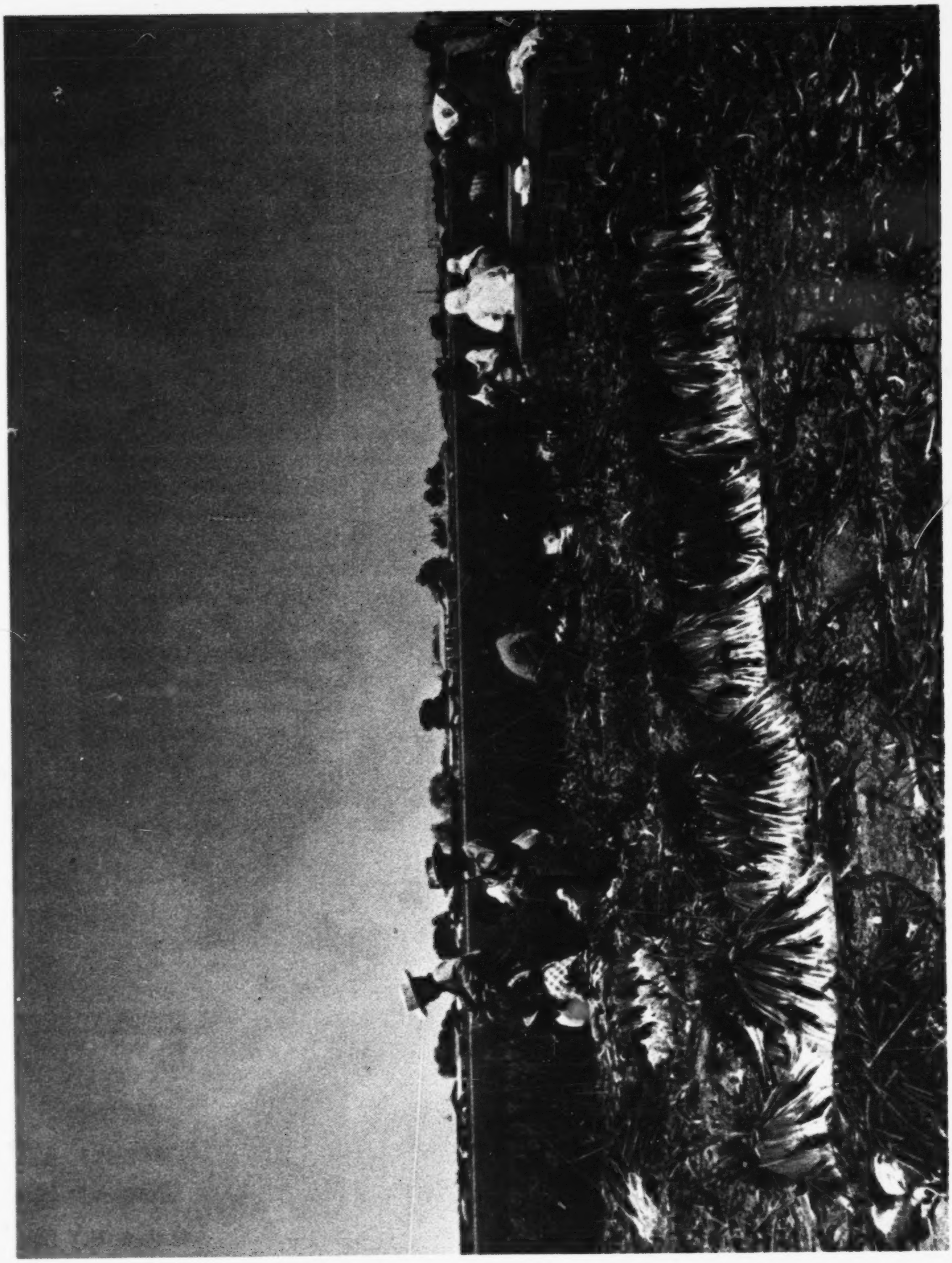
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

County boundaries as of April 1, 1960

Persons 25 years and over who had completed fewer than five years of school

KEY

UNDER 10.0% ☐
10.0%--19.9 ■
20.0%--29.9 ■
30.0% & OVER ■



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P. 79 .... *Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona*
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**Pictures through courtesy of U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Division of Indian Health*

The content of this summary report represents the varied views of many who observed or participated in the conference — in preparation and/or in execution. The editorial comments do not necessarily reflect the views of all of the sponsors or participants involved. Sole responsibility for same rests with The Choate Foundation. The testimony quoted was derived from editing tape recordings and written statements.